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Drug use and rurality : a cultural analysis of patterns of use by young people in Britain and New Zealand.

DRUG USE AND RURALITY.
A CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF PATTERNS OF USE BY YOUNG PEOPLE IN BRITAIN AND NEW ZEALAND.

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ABSTRACT.

This thesis examines the use of drugs by young people in three rural areas. Two contrasting areas in Britain, Yorkshire and Hertfordshire, and one in rural New Zealand. The central tenet of the research was to establish the extent and nature of patterns of drug use by the young people living there, and the ways in which that use differed from use by young people in urban localities. This research therefore aims to diversify discourses of rurality to recognise the existence of rural 'others', both in terms of the populations which reside there, and with respect to the activities which they carry out. Here, as I focus attention on drug use, I move away from discursive representations of drug use which have previously recognised drug use as a feature of the urban world, and suggest that it is an integral facet of rural life. I also move away from the idealisation of rural areas which has formed a central theme in recent rural research. This background is discussed in the early chapters along with an analysis of the role rurality plays in the rehabilitation of drug users. This, along with the methodology, forms the conceptual basis of the thesis. In the remaining text, empirical evidence is used to illustrate some of the intricate details surrounding the patterns of use I found. These chapters focus on the extent and nature of drug use, the spatial patterns of use and the ways in which this use fits into a broader youth cultural framework. In conclusion these themes are brought together and I question the significance rurality has in late 20th century definitions of urban and rural landscapes. I also analyse the ways in which the British and New Zealand experiences of drug use and rurality, differ from each other.

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AUTHORS DECLARATION AND DISCLAIMER.

I declare that the work contained in this thesis is entirely my own work. All views expressed in this thesis are my own, emerging from the work that I have carried out and should in no way be taken to represent the views or opinions of the University of Bristol.

Elizabeth Hyde.

22nd September 1997.

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Introduction

The thesis and my position within it.

In 1995 Country Life magazine featured an article which raised the issue of drug use in the countryside. It was entitled "Drugs...coming soon to a village near you" and featured case studies of individuals whose children, friends and relatives were involved in the rapidly increasing drug scene in the English countryside (Amos 1995). The article was aimed at informing readers about the issue, but through its choice of language, and the way it juxtaposed the existence of drug use in this seemingly idealised landscape, it simply furthered discursive representations of rural life as a problem free environment exempt from the social, economic and political ills of the modern urban world.

Drug use is a facet of contemporary society, but continues to be regarded as an issue which concerns the economically deprived, the destitute and the urban lower classes, or the rich and famous who use drugs to supplant their often extreme lifestyles. In recent years these specific representations of drug use have been combined with a recognition that as a form of behaviour it is increasingly attracting users who do not fall into these particular categories. It has come to be regarded as a form of recreation rather than a social crutch used as a form of escapism from economic and social deprivation. Drug use has come to appeal to a much wider audience, and through this has become less associated with specific places where particular social groups reside. Despite this diversification in the appeal of drug use to a wider portion of the population, there remains a focus on the abnormality of this type of behaviour, and an understanding that everyday individuals are unlikely to be involved.

My research was prompted by these two ideas. I felt strongly that drug use was no longer simply an urban issue, if it ever had been. I felt that rurality could not be seen as exempt from social issues such as drug use anymore, that they were a

part of the modern rural world as much as the urban. From my own personal understanding of drug use, and my contact with peers who have used, I was also aware that drug use was something that ordinary people did. I knew that it was an integral part of the lives of many people, of adolescents, young adults, older adults, males, females, rural and urban residents alike. This thesis will regard the issue of drug use in a rural context focusing specifically on the use of drugs by young people. I aim to diversify discourses of rurality and of drug use ,and focus attention on the nature of the drug that occurs there. Does it differ in any way from use in urban areas?

This topic is obviously embedded with issues of confidentiality, of trust, of being non-judgmental and of the bias of written work. In the remaining part of this introduction I will focus on my own position within this work and hope through this to establish the position from which the research was carried out and written.

In recent years it has become 'fashionable' to position one's research within the broad framework of beliefs, morals, opinions and background. Researchers are increasingly required to position their study amidst their personal beliefs and morals to create what Haraway (1991) calls "situated knowledge's", where it is recognised that a particular person is writing, not an unmarked voice. Puar (1993) draws on Haraway's work and suggests that "a researcher cannot disconnect nor disassociate herself from her own social and political construction, her investment in various ideologies, her 'partial perspective', which informs her situated knowledge's". Here, the researcher is not required to be 'objective' or unbiased, but can use her own voice in the written text. This 'abandonment' of the search for an objective truth emerges at a time when research is less concerned about claiming to reveal the real truth, but is more concerned in revealing one of many truths. Clifford (1984) argues that knowledge is partial, and we must abandon all notions of attempting to reveal a 'real' truth, and recognise that knowledge claims are often plagued by ethnocentrism.

It is this subjective truth which must be qualified within the researchers beliefs and concerns to ensure it is not regarded as an objective truth, but is situated in the positionality of the researcher. Cloke (1995 :152)) calls upon the work of Probyn (1993) suggesting it is important to acknowledge both personal positionality and broader categories of discourse which will reflect these essentialist spaces. In recognising my own positionality I will give myself an authority to write this thesis in a particular way, claiming not to find some objective truth, but one perspective on drug use and rurality.

My own personal upbringing was strongly influenced by my school, my parents and family and my peers. My childhood was fairly insular, I lived and studied in a small market town and my life was centred around my family, school, church and sport. At secondary school I became aware, through my own personal experiences, of the ways in which peer groups influenced individuals behaviour and this has in recent years influenced my work on youth cultures. Within my peer group everyone had ambition, all participated in sports, music and drama activities, Duke of Edinburgh Awards, and all achieved high G.C.S.E and A level results. It was an essential part of everyday life to 'belong' to this group and I was increasingly aware of the influence of my peers on my behaviour. My school experiences certainly fuelled my interest in geography; geography was a subject about real people and real issues where one could make a difference through the work that was carried out and the information disseminated into the wider population.

Through my university career at Swansea I became increasingly aware of social and economic inequalities in society and developed a desire to 'make things better'. My third year at Swansea presented me with a series of issues and theoretical concepts which I could engage with. The regional and quantitative geography was left behind and influences from the new cultural geographies emerged. Academically, however, my interest was continually sparked by the geographies of real people. My second and final year dissertation focused on the increasing concentration of H.I.V. infection on the peripheral housing estates in Edinburgh.

Through carrying out this research I became increasingly aware of the intense social and economic deprivation in Britain. I worked as a volunteer with a Christian based organisation with people infected with H.I.V. on the Muirhouse estate in north east Edinburgh. It was an eye opening experience and it fuelled my interest in the geographies of real people and real issues, diverging away from the more abstract theoretical work. I came into contact with drug addicts and prostitutes and this developed my compelling urge to eradicate their misery and suffering to allow them equal access to all aspects of life and to not be treated as something exotic or different but as real people. It was this which fuelled my interest into research with a conscience, a purpose and a desire to change things for the better, and my current work on drug use was initially emanated from these sentiments.

Theoretically I was attracted by the increasing importance of humanistic elements in geography and also the trend towards post-structuralist work. Since at Bristol these ideas have been furthered, and I have felt a desire to carry out research which does not further compartmentalise or categorise people or places, but which looks to the diversity and wealth of experience which exist in each and every place. These ideas tend to focus attention on relativistic analyses, and steer away from the more modernist frameworks. These are often embedded with moral codes which suggest there is a right and wrong way of doing things. I became attracted to a type of analysis which was not so modernist whilst carrying out my research, feeling that it was wrong for me to assess the young people's drug use I saw as bad or negative, since for many of them it was a lifestyle choice and nothing more. I found it increasingly difficult to stand apart from my own opinions and judgement on these issues though and I will reflect upon my own thoughts throughout the work as a result of this. Young people I felt were a group who required attention within the academic field and my research aimed to address this neglect.

As a result of the theoretical change in direction I have experienced, I have been attracted by the work of Hebdige (1979) and Brake (1985) who use subcultural

theory to explain the use of drugs by young people. Here they claim that drug use is not something to be judged, but something to be understood and relayed to others simply as a component of many youth cultural groupings. Both writers attempt to 'explain' what was previously called 'deviant' behaviour in terms of subcultures, in an almost relativistic manner, accepting difference in a totally non judgmental way. I have found this work an attractive, though difficult, way to proceed and I have attempted to follow these thoughts in my own research.

Despite my attraction towards more relativistic ways of regarding drug use I am continually drawn back to a more modernist stance in which there is a recognition that there is a right and wrong, and a good and bad, and that young people's use of drugs does fall into the category of wrong, that it requires distinct forms of action and research[1]. My feelings on the issue retain a desire to prevent others from using drugs, to ensure that young people who do use are aware of the dangers of their use and the alternative forms of behaviour that they could adopt. I have tried throughout my work to establish which of these two strands of thought my work is more closely aligned to. Am I a researcher who can accept patterns of behaviour which contradict my own personal needs without judging, or am I more structured in my analysis? I do not feel that whilst carrying out my research I came to any particular decisions about these issues, nor do I feel that it is problematic for my work. All I hope to do is recognise how my feelings alter throughout the research process and how this may alter the ways in which I represent my subjects of study. Throughout this thesis I will refer to my own thoughts and feelings as I carried out and analysed the work, and through this, will create a piece of written work which reflects a particular perspective of drug use in rural areas.

Through recognising my own positionality here I am accepting that my work is not an objective piece of research, but that it comes embedded with my own personal, social and educational background, and a background which is

[1]Here I define drugs as those substances defined by the law as illegal and which are consumed for their physical and psychological effect on consumption. A further definition can be seen in Chapter One Page 36.

continually challenged and changed by the research experiences I encounter. In addition to this recognition of the need to position one's research, there is also a need to extend this into the written text. Simply acknowledging one's background does not give us a "trope of authority" to simply proceed as before, but requires us to take this positionality into the written work and beyond (Duncan and Sharp 1992). We must not simply allow a recognition of positionality and partiality to justify the ethnocentrism of knowledge, but must continually (re)examine our research and written text in a process of continual self-reflexivity. Through doing this Clifford (1984) argues we must recognise that our representations of the truth are in fact fictions, in the sense that they are something 'made' or 'fashioned'. He suggests;

> Even the best ethnographic texts - serious true fictions, are systems of economies of truth. Power and history work through them, in ways often their author cannot fully control (1984 :7).

The written text becomes inherently partial, committed and incomplete, enmeshed in power relations in which the author often dominates those being represented (Clifford 1984). This is no more evident than with the study of 'disadvantaged groups' such as drug users, where it can become increasingly evident through the written text who holds the power[2]. The way I feel research must now proceed is in the recognition of the importance of polyvocality in the written text, and allowing the voices of the researched to be heard, giving individuals the choice to speak or not, on issues that are important to them. It is important also to recognise that identities are not fixed static states, but are constantly reformed, and through this not to categorise 'others' into a homogeneous group (Doel 1994), and to recognise the need to regard each person as an individual not simply as one part of a broader group.

Other research issues also emerged whilst I was both carrying out the research and during the analysis. These included the ethics of researching young people

[2] Here through using the term 'disadvantaged groups' I am again placing judgement on those who use drugs. But here I simply use the term to recognise that for many of the people I researched I did hold a position of power because of my academic status and my own non-use of drugs.

and the ways in which I could obtain a degree of valid information. The research process was messy and intensely frustrating at times. I became interested in issues not directly related to my research topic but that the young people talked in detail about. I became aware of the complexities of rural life, and the ways in which stability and homogeneity are established and sustained in the rural community, the feelings of racism, of homophobia and the need to conform as felt by many of the young people. These issues had to be glossed over for the purposes of this PhD due to time and word constraints, but formed an interesting background to the patterns of use as demonstrated by the young people. My focus has remained on studying the extent and patterns of use of drugs by young people in rural areas and the ways in which rurality makes a difference to the manner in which that drug use is exhibited.

One important theme of this research has been the international nature of the study. Having initially wished to carry out some form of comparison between Britain and New Zealand, which I felt would demonstrate both similarities and differences, I have since become aware that the contrasts lie too deeply for many of the issues to be compared. I have therefore chosen to analyse the work from New Zealand separately, though using the same themes for discussion and the same methods of research, I felt that grouping the two countries together was simply an inadequate way of addressing the contrasts.

In this introduction I hope to have set the standpoint or narrative from which the remainder of this thesis is written. The organisation of the thesis follows a logical pattern, firstly establishing the theoretical background to the work, then regarding the ways in which the research was carried out, and finally an analysis of the data gathered. Chapter One therefore sets the scene for the thesis, establishing the background to the work. In Chapter One I draw heavily on discourses of rurality and suggest that they have systematically denied the presence of many aspects of contemporary social life. Through analysing the pervasiveness of the rural idyll, and the glossing over of rural difference and diversity, I draw upon both historical and contemporary evidence to suggest that many of these phenomenon have

always existed, but have been denied a place in the discursive representation of rural life.

Chapter Two focuses on the ways in which rurality and nature have become associated with health and healing. Here the central tenet of the Chapter focuses on analysing the ways in which rural areas have come to be recognised as landscapes of healing where individuals go in order to regain physical and mental well being. In addition to this, the Chapter talks in detail about the use of rural landscapes and of nature, in the healing and rehabilitation of drug users, and how many centres of therapy systematically use aspects of their location in the countryside as means of validating and promoting their centre as a place of healing.

Chapter Three centres on the second major theoretical theme of the thesis, the emergence and persistence of youth cultural and subcultural groups. In this chapter what is established is the way in which youth groups have been historically regarded as reactionary, deviant, coherent and structured entities, which provide a sense of belonging and require a degree of commitment to a common cause. What I suggest throughout this chapter is that in the late 20th century youth groups are less reactionary and deviant than they have been previously seen and that they are now more lifestyle oriented providing group belonging and identity which can be tapped into periodically as and when it is required. I draw on these ideas and suggest that contemporary use of drugs by young people falls more into this category rather than a particular subculture as previously defined.

Chapter Four looks at the ways in which the research was carried out. Here attention is placed on the choice of research locations, the methods employed and the problems and ethics surrounding this type of work. Some of the themes discussed earlier in this chapter will be drawn upon again. Finally some attention is given to the interpretation strategy of the work.

Chapters Five, Six and Seven are centred on the results from the empirical work and each one centres on a particular theme which I felt drew out some of the main issues from the research. Chapter Five looks at the extent and nature of drug use in the three areas of study, the drugs used, the frequency of use and the gender, age and socio-economic variations surrounding these patterns of use. This chapter therefore gives a degree of quantification of the issue in the regions of study.

Chapter Six extends beyond this and regards the ways in which the use of drugs by young people has specific characteristics which relate to their location in rural areas. Micro-geographies of supply and consumption in the villages are identified and the ways in which this relates to places of territory and identity in the village community is discussed.

Chapter Seven takes some the ideas from Chapter Three and develops them with evidence from the fieldwork. Here I suggest that young people in rural areas are both a part of, and separate from, the cultural groupings of young people in the towns and cities. I draw on the work of Maffesoli (1991) and argue that the young people I spoke with were creating an almost 'neo-tribal' grouping which had drug use as central facet of the scene. The ways in which rurality makes a difference to the lives of the young people I studied is also discussed in the context of youth cultures and subcultures.

Finally Chapter Eight discusses and concludes on the research carried out for this thesis. Here I summarise the empirical work and draw out new ideas which 'explain' the patterns of drug use that I identified. I also conclude that my research draws out questions which query the use of the term rural, and suggest that in the contemporary world it perhaps holds less significance than it once did. In conclusion I make some primitive calls for further research into this area and suggest ways in which my own work could have been enhanced. In the first chapter I therefore discuss the symbolic significance of the rural in Britain and New Zealand.

Chapter One

Conceptualising the rural: myths and realities of rural life.

1.1 Introduction.

This chapter forms the introduction to the thesis and places the research in the context of wider literature's on rurality and drug use, two of the main themes of the thesis. By examining the increasing idealisation of the rural in particular cultural sources, I will argue that rurality has evolved with greater symbolic significance than its physical reality might otherwise suggest, and that as a result of this the rural environment remains seen as different and contrasting to the urban world. Through such idealisation negative aspects of the rural landscape remain unrecognised, and certain groups in society involved in these activities become 'excluded' from the rural environment, if not in a physical sense then in terms of social exclusion and their exemption from rural discourses. I will suggest that many of these rural others are in reality an integral part of the rural landscape and have been for many decades.

In recent years rural geography has adopted a more cultural stance, augmenting studies of the physical and economic with a focus on the cultural side of rural life. Through this rural areas are defined not only in terms of their physical characteristics but with respect to the people who live there and the whole culture of rural areas. From this it is possible to ascertain that the rural is a multifaceted symbolic space rather than simply a physically defined geographic area, and that those engaging with it have their own interpretations, experiences and understanding of what constitutes rurality. I will argue in this chapter that people's experiences of place and understanding of place meaning, inform their behaviour and actions and also the ways in which areas come to retain their identities as places with particular characteristics. The rural discourses that people create and engage with, are non-static and as such are under constant (re)negotiation within and between populations, and are also set within distinct

power relations. It therefore becomes inadequate to address rurality with regard only to hegemonic discourses of the rural, and in this chapter I will seek to address a multitude of rural identities. I will draw on social constructionist approaches to the rural (Crouch 1992) and in turn will acknowledge Murdoch and Pratt's (1993) recognition of the need to address rurality within a postmodern framework. In doing so, rurality will be regarded as a multifaceted social space.

Throughout this chapter I will argue there is an increasing need to address lay discourses of the rural, in particular those of 'rural others' previously unrecognised by rural geography (Jones 1995). For the purposes of this thesis the 'rural other' (Philo 1992) discussed will be rural youth. In addition to broadening rural discourses with the experiences of rural youth I will look to widening the phenomenon associated with rurality through a recognition and detailed analysis of the incidence of drug use in rural areas of Britain and New Zealand.

In this thesis the work emerging from Britain and New Zealand will be regarded in a similar way and will be treated as examples of the same phenomenon, so that comparison and contrast can be made. However, for the purpose of the theoretical and some empirical chapters it is essential that they are regarded separately because on carrying out the research I discovered too many differences, which would have made the thesis disjointed had the two countries been woven together throughout the thesis. Through treating them in a similar way, but maintaining their individualities I will be able to focus on both the similarities and differences between the two case studies.

In the following section I will illustrate the theoretical position that I adopt throughout the work. In the second section, the idealisation of the rural within certain cultural sources will be identified, aiming to illustrate the neglect of certain aspects of rurality, mostly those deemed as negative and will argue that the way in which rurality has been regarded as different from urban areas is

perhaps less applicable than previously realised. I will then draw on work on young people's experiences of rurality and will introduce the idea that for some young people the rural environment is far from the ideal so many believe it to be. Finally, I shall address the issue of drug use in rural areas, suggesting that it has been a characteristic of the rural environment for many years, simply hidden from the public eye.

1.2 What is rurality? The difference of rurality.

A central theme of this thesis is to regard the ways in which rural living makes a difference to the lives of the young people there, in particular to their patterns of drug use. To ascertain the difference rurality makes, if any, it becomes essential to establish the ways in which rurality has been previously defined and distinguished from the urban world. Traditionally, rural areas were defined in what Halfacree (1993) terms a 'descriptive' manner where the defining characteristics were the physical, social and cultural differences to the urban world. The rural was seen in terms of its functional roles (see Cloke and Park (1985), Cloke (1989))[1] and stood separate to areas beyond its boundary. Such modernist approaches have been widely criticised by academics who suggest they are often Anglo-centred in their analysis, and because of the way they conceptualised rural areas as self-contained units set apart from the wider social, political, cultural and economic system of the country. Here rurality made a difference in its economic, social and cultural makeup and came to be seen as a separate entity devoid of links with the outside world.

From critiques of definitions like this, developed a recognition that rural areas were indeed not separate entities but were linked to the urban, and indeed to other rural areas. At this time considerable economic and socio-political changes were also occurring in the structure of rural Britain. This recognition of the wider significance of more local changes appeared at a time when

[1]Indeed Cloke and Park (1985) identify three approaches in which socio-spatial characteristics are used to distinguish the rural from the urban. In the first they describe the rural as the antithesis of the urban, the second in terms of the land use characteristics, and the third in terms of people's perceptions of rurality.

geography in general was becoming more receptive to ideas of globalisation, accepting as Massey (1994) argues, that place was neither a fixed nor universal concept. She suggests;

> the particularity of place is by no means all included within that place itself. Importantly, it includes relations which stretch beyond - the global as part of what constitutes the local, the outside as part of the inside.....The identities of places are unfixed, contested and multiple. And the particularity of any place is, in terms, constructed not by placing boundaries around it and defining its identity through counter-position to the other which lies beyond, but precisely (in part) through the specificity of the mix of links and interconnections to that 'beyond'. (1994 :5)

Through perspectives such as this the significance or particularity of place is reduced and what emerges is what Robbins (1991a) terms a "disarticulation of place based societies" (1991a :13). Following ideas such as this Hoggart (1990) called for an abandonment of the term 'rural' which he classed as redundant for use by academics in any meaningful sense. This argument though interesting, might be regarded as a rejection of the notion that 'the local' holds significance in everyday life. I would argue that it is local which remains the arena to which most people identify with and despite the interconnectedness of places locality still retains some significance. In this context I would suggest it is the way in which people see and think about the world which has wider implications for the 'external processes' Hoggart so thoughtfully discusses. Indeed Harvey (1989) suggests that globalisation has not made our notions of place less significant, but more so. As our spatial mobility has increased and people's movements are more frequent and intense, place, including rural places, has become somewhere which is certain within this. And so place, or locality, be it urban or rural, is something which is different to all other places and therefore makes a difference to the lives of those living there.

Crouch (1992) confirms these ideas suggesting that through the adoption of the political economy approach the rural as an everyday experience has been neglected and that experience has been masked by the perceived uniformity of places. Through drawing on work from cultural studies he claims the rural is more than a physical or geographic landscape and holds distinct meanings for

those engaging with it both directly and indirectly. Crouch suggests that adopting a social contructionist perspective allows us to look at rural spaces in this way, conceptualising the particular meanings the rural holds in each area for those engaging with it[2]. Rurality emerges as a set of non-tangible spaces rather than a distinct set of physical characteristics and greater detail can be placed on the social and cultural meanings assigned to each rural space.([3]Cloke 1993, Halfacree 1993, Mormont 1990). Crouch identifies that such a perspective could benefit rural studies in many ways, suggesting that;

> a cultural approach would explore particular intersections of political economy, social relationships and cultural practice that relate to the physical reality of small settlements and landscapes. (Crouch 1991 :230).

I will draw heavily on social constructionist perspectives of the rural in this thesis. For me, social constructionist perspectives allow us to investigate lay discourses of the rural through avoiding grand metanarratives of rurality and allow us to establish another strand of how rurality is different, and how it can make a difference to the lives of those living there.

However, as I recognise above, political economy approaches also hold much weight in the description of rural societies. Rural areas are no longer distinct from their surrounding geographical spaces be it on social, cultural or economic terms. Maybe what is required is a view of the rural which recognises both its relationship to the wider 'global village' (Massey 1995) and its independence from it. Maybe what is required is a recognition that it is locality, rather than rurality which in fact makes the difference. In approaching the thesis in this way my work takes on board a distinctly postmodern emphasis. I therefore follow Murdoch and Pratt's (1993) use of Massey's analysis of place identities, where she states that "places are constructed out of the juxtaposition, the

[2]Social constructionist perspectives regard the meaning of space as more than a physical landscape and see it as constructed out of the physical landscape in conjunction with human agency. The way we perceive the rural is distinctive because we are classed, raced and gendered individuals. This meaning is not fixed but fluid and contested at times and social constructionist perspectives take these factors into account.

[3]Indeed Cloke (1993) argues the rural can be defined as an individually constructed, negotiated (and re-negotiated) and experienced concept.

intersection, the articulation, of multiple social relations and therefore do not have single pre-given identities" (1991 :276). It is not that a place is urban or rural which perhaps matters but the local characteristics of each and every place be they urban or rural. Indeed we are a culturally urbanised population in Britain, not relying on agriculture socially or economically and not having a peasant population, and the significance of rural life is therefore questionable.

Mormont (1990) argues that to define 'rural' we now need to ascertain how people from rural areas (and those from beyond) construct themselves as 'rural' (or indeed as not rural). Indeed, here one could argue that how rurality is conceptualised by each person is of increasing importance, rather than as a physical area confined by a geographical boundary. Rurality may make a difference in terms of how people conceptualise it and therefore react and behave within its boundaries. Such identities are socially and culturally constructed by individuals, and I thus see strong links between postmodern and social constructionist perspectives of the rural. Within this thesis I wish to follow Philo's (1992) call to "pluralise 'the rural': to speak of many different 'rurals'" (1992 :433). After all it is only through understanding the multiple experiences people have with the rural environment that we can obtain any degree of comprehension about rurality *per se*. Perhaps the way rurality makes a difference in the late 20th century relates more to the nature of the rural community than the space in which this community is located (Couchman 1995). The rural, as a geographic space, has multiple identities which are formed collectively and individually and as such has implications for how it is both individually and collectively perceived. There is not one rurality, but many. Anderson and Gayle (1992) suggest that "in the course of generating new meanings and decoding existing ones, people construct places, landscapes, regions and environments. In short they construct geographies" (1992 :4). Through such perceptions, cultures and activities people are assigned a position within the rural landscape or community, a piece of the rural jigsaw. Those who contrast such fixed entities, who do not have such an identified position or who contradict the image that is portrayed can be excluded from the

environment, physically or discursively. Such identities are therefore embedded within structures of power and this itself holds interest for the geographer concerned with studying the 'other' and the other's experience of place[4].

In this thesis rurality will therefore be analysed at both a discursive and experiential level, addressing the discourses and experiences of those living there, in particular those relating to the lives of young people. Within this I can aspire to a more 'sensitive' analysis of rurality, recognising that the rural is not a given entity, but something created, and in turn reacted to, at an individual and collective level. In doing this I hope to establish what difference living in a rural area makes to the lives of young people, in particular for those involved in the drug scene. I wish to determine whether rurality still holds significance as a geographic space for those living there or whether rurality has been engulfed in the process of globalisation and now exhibits few, if any, differences from the urban arena.

In the following section I will draw on the representation of the rural as portrayed in popular discourses, and how this in turn characterises appropriate and inappropriate forms of behaviour, attitudes and morals for the rural environment which becomes a place of exclusion for those who do not conform. In this respect I shall determine how rurality is perceived to be different from the urban. Through analysing lay discourses of the rural in a social constructionist manner, I will later identify ruralities which move beyond hegemonic discourses of the rural, and attempt to bring them into the heart of academic practice. After all, "rural identity is manifold and heterogeneous" and we must seek to move beyond those discourses of the rural which are created only by those who hold the power (Mormont 1990 :42).

[4]Later in this chapter I shall discuss in detail the notion of rural 'others' and their neglect within discourses of rurality.

1.3 The rural Idyll: myth or reality? Rurality as a cultural image.

Rurality has been characterised as a utopian arena for centuries. This notion of a 'rural idyll' reflects a rurality which is arcadian, bucolic and free from social, political and economic disadvantage. This dominant discourse has portrayed an image of rurality which neglects, or hides certain aspects of rural life, emerging as what Sibley (1995) terms a 'sanitised landscape'. Here rurality is conceptualised as different to the urban in a positive way. The distinctions between the two landscapes are based on the premise that rurality is a utopian environment.

In Britain this vision of rurality manifests itself in the formation of national identity, with the rural emerging with distinct iconographic qualities, steeped in tradition and history. Crouch (1992) argues that the appropriation rurality as a symbol of national identity epitomises the locus of contemporary elite culture, whereby the everyday culture that has been called rural life is interpreted as true 'Englishness', "a symbol of present day assurance through an imagined nationally shared past" (1992 :230). Derounian (1993) concludes that "the fatal attraction of rural England is deeply embedded in our national subconscious" (p1993 :8). Following in this vein, Bunce (1994) argues that sentiment towards the countryside has reached idealistic proportions, and consequently rurality evolves with a "a mythological status in our mental view of the world.....a cultural construct and a social ideal forged by the historical processes of a metropolitan-dominated society" (1994 :2).

This embodiment of notions of a pastoral idyll within rural discourses dates back at least to the 13th century when 'rural idylls' were first documented in any literary sense (Williams 1973[5]). This idea of a pastoral idyll was characteristically formed in ancient Greece where the ascendancy of the cities instigated a vehement reaction against the sophistication of urban areas, and a nostalgia for the countryside evolved. As a result;

[5]Indeed Williams (1973) discusses in detail such idealisation of the rural from the 13th century and analyses it in terms of its representation in cultural sources.

> sentiment for the countryside became a significant philosophical ideal as well as a popular literary device. Hesiod and Xenophon's regressive notions of an agrarian Golden Age and the idylls of Theocritus and the other poets established the countryside as the metaphor for the pastoral other world. (Bunce 1994 :5).

As urban areas developed this idealisation of the rural evolved with further mythological status, the 'rural idyll' representing a pastoral ideal associated with a bucolic, rustic, peaceful, tranquil and problem free world blessed with an inherent sense of community (Cloke and Milbourne 1992). As Short (1992 :2) notes the English countryside was contrasted with the English town and was found to be not only aesthetically superior but also somehow more sound in social character and moral purpose. These ideas were based on the premise that rural life was agricultural life, and that agricultural life was more wholesome and morally strong. It was not simply the physical area that was deemed to be blessed with these characteristics, but those living there too. Howkins (1986) suggests it was the 'organic community' of rural areas in Victorian Britain which provided a vision of stability, order and continuity appealing to the population of urban Britain who were living through rapid industrialisation and urbanisation[6]. Rurality made a difference again in a positive way and was deemed to ensure that both the landscape and the people epitomised perfection in a geographic space. Short (1991) concludes that;

> whenever social tensions increase, fear of the future loom large, then the countryside as myth becomes more prevalent.....The countryside is the nostalgic past, providing a glimpse of a simpler purer age. (1991 :31).

Rural landscapes in Britain therefore represent more than a physical environment, comprising of a distinctive set of ideologies and meanings surrounding constructed ideas of community, kinship and nature (A Hughes 1996). This dominant idyll is highly specific in what it portrays, and, as such it is constructed and reproduced by the dominant groups in society and embedded within distinct power structures. Despite this elite bias I would argue imagery of rural landscapes and associated notions of purity, health and idyll played (and

[6] In addition it can be noted that in Victorian Britain it was the working conditions of the working classes which were often responsible for their high death rates.

indeed do still play) increasingly important roles with regard to popular perceptions of rurality and remain the dominant image of this landscape.

The representation of the rural as a problem free environment is often illustrated through cultural sources such art, literature and music (Daniels 1992). Drawing heavily on the work of Constable to support his ideas, Daniels argues Constable's works have acquired iconographic status in representing the 'true' English rural way of life. Nature and heritage integrated together in certain forms of high culture providing a "kind of visible guarantee of historical identity" (Lowenthal and Binney 1981 :119). Here the idealised rurality is portrayed to those who do not have direct experience of rural life and people come to accept these images uncritically as if they represent reality.

The acceptance of ideas of nature and heritage coupled together are well recognised by authors such as Bunce (1994), Mingay (1989a,b,c), Short B (1992), Short J (1991)[7]. and Wright (1985). Weiner (1981) talks in his work of how the rural was used during the First World War to instigate patriotism and allegiance in the soldiers. Images of rurality here were highly specific in nature, focusing on an idealised rural Britain. In the late 20th century such idealisation of the rural has re-emerged to illustrate a place within England which is stable and unchanging. Margaret Thatcher adhered to this notion of patriotism to win support during what can only be regarded as troubled times in the 1980's[8]. This section has illustrated how the rural has come to be viewed as a landscape which is both pure and free from problems. A site of stability and conformity which is unique and separate from the urban. These ideas pervade much of contemporary British culture and in the following section how they have been commodified will be discussed. Here the rural environment as different from the urban is portrayed at a more day to day level and reaches a wider section of the population.

[7]Indeed their works discuss in some detail the idealisation of the rural in both historical and contemporary society, through representations in art, literature, music, advertising.
[8]In this I refer to the Falklands war and the miners strike in which there was much opposition to the government.

1.4 Rurality as an everyday experience.

In the late twentieth century, representations of the rural within certain cultural sources continue to depict the rural as a problem-free arena, an aspired living environment complete with associated social and moral codes of conduct, a pure and sanitised landscape. This image is seen to be produced and reproduced in:

> art, literature, television and radio programmes, commercial advertising, newspapers/ magazines and academic texts.....[as well as] movies and music, country related organisations {from the women's institute to the Boy Scouts}, religious movements and the designers of homes, home furnishings, clothes and other consumer products. (Cloke and Milbourne 1992 :363).

These images of an idealised rurality, depicted through art and literature as forms of high culture, are often transferred into commodities furthering their pervasiveness as images. This occurs on a mass scale and the images spill over into popular consciousness, "reasserting Harvey's (1989 :299) view of commodities as 'primary bearers of cultural codes'." (Houlton and Short 1995). Landscapes and images of them therefore bear the mark of power and can become mythical and detached from any sense of material reality.

Pratt's (1992) discussion of the symbolism associated with Laura Ashley designs illustrates these ideas well. Pratt recognises that the designs draw on notions both of history and an idealised *rurality, and identifies the symbolic* significance each design holds. Through combining notions of history and rurality, Laura Ashley designs formalise links between ideological and material uses of rurality (Hughes 1995 :31). Pratt concludes "Laura Ashley is almost a by-word for an English middle class style and fashion which draws upon a mythical Victorian Golden Age of rural living and cultural values" (1992 :126)[9]. Houlton and Short (1995 :299) follow a similar pattern of argument in their analysis of Sylvanian Families, a child's toy which presents a sanitised rurality, a

[9]The symbolic significance of such commodities has extended to a degree whereby they illustrate a social position has been reached. The commodities demonstrate that individuals adhere to a certain way of life which is and aspired position.

typical, stable, wholesome way of life[10]. Robbins (1991a) suggests too that heritage centres are increasingly important in our global village where place identities are continually questionable. He argues the "driving imperative is to salvage centred, bounded and coherent identities - placed identities for placeless times" (1991a :41). It is a nostalgic look back to the past, to a time when it is believed that the rural was a stable, coherent, tightly bound and moral place. Rurality differs from the urban here in the ways in which it is portrayed to the outside world. It represents more than a physical landscape, a culture and way of life which is both unique and utopian, but this difference does not reflect reality and as it becomes transformed into commodities becomes further and further detached from reality.

The field of advertising, as one of the most powerful reflectors and manipulators of values, relies heavily on the tapping of deeply held values and popular images to sell products. Landscapes are given user preference by rating snapshot images disassociated from any real experience. Images of rurality used as a means of selling products rely on the image of rurality as a sanitised landscape, a pure environment to promote their products Researchers often refer to this as 'chocolate box' imagery where certain images removed from any real experience are used to market products as authentic, or somehow more real because they are associated with rural life (Scott et al 1991). Derounian (1993 :5) widens this criticism of the media as the creators and reproducers of the idyll to incorporate what he terms 'image makers', including politicians, the media and many engaged in the arts, suggesting they;

> conspire to protect, conserve and sanitise the way we look at country life. Even the word 'country' conjures images, not just of rustic charm - 'country cottages', 'country produce' - but also of nationhood (1993 :11).

[10]Here a child is taught the values of rural life through a toy. The rural community with its stability and coherence is demonstrated as an ideal to the child who receives the images through play The rural is associated with such ideals and a child with little experience or knowledge of 'alternative' aspects of rurality will come to naturalise such images with notions of rurality.

Sibley (1995) suggests that the media, particularly television, is important in this process because it is remotely consumed, requires no engagement of people with the landscapes it represents, and thus is detached from any sense of material reality. He continues that such images are therefore more likely to be received uncritically (1995 :60). What results from the use of imagery like this is the emergence of particular 'place myths' by which, "places and spaces are hypostatised from the world of real space relations to the symbolic realm of cultural signification's" (Shields 1991 :47). He continues to suggest that these images connected with a place may become to be held as "signifiers of its essential character" impacting on material activities and clung to "despite changes in the 'real' nature of the site" (1991 :47). The myth of rurality as a problem free and utopian environment distinguishing it from all other areas therefore pervades much of British culture. These ideas are often accepted uncritically by those receiving them and yet are produced by the powerful and often do not reflect reality about the places they depict. Section 1.5 suggests how these images come to be accepted and the need to regard 'others' views of the rural environment.

1.5 The politics of place identity: rural imagery and the power of rural discourse.

Through illustrating that rurality is idealised within both high and popular forms of culture, it seems evident that at a variety of discursive levels many aspects of rural life are neglected or ignored. Furthermore, given the consolidatory or escapist role that the rural plays in everyday life there is an unwillingness to recognise and react to such problems by those living in both rural and urban areas. Rurality is seen as a pure space, compared to the defiled city (Sibley 1995). Through this rural areas are again contrasted with their urban counterparts and retain an identity of difference. This dichotomy extends beyond the description of the physical landscape to the populations who inhabit each area too. Each space seen as being populated by people who reflect their environment, the country being populated by the pure and the city by the defiled. Problems in the rural environment and the diversity of rural people are

often unrecognised because for many of us the rural is not a lived experience. We come to understand the rural through the images given to us through cultural sources (Houlton and Short 1995). As Relph suggests we;

> become part of the mass for [we] only experience a place through its mass identity and [our] observations are fitted into the ready made identities that have been provided by the mass media. (Relph 1976 :80).

Individuals exposed to such synthetic identities, and those for whom rurality is not a lived experience, often encounter reality in terms of them (Burgess and Gold 1985 :17).

Through such idealisation of the rural environment, appropriate and inappropriate forms of behaviour and associated norms are characterised for the rural environment. The rural becomes an environment of exclusion creating a system whereby some individuals are left outside the sphere of rurality (Sibley 1995). Those not conforming to the ideals of the rural landscape are ignored, hidden or excluded from both discourses of rurality and many of the cultural and social experiences of rural life. As Massey (1995) concludes "the politics of claiming to be an insider are also often the politics of claiming power" (1995 :116).

Sibley (1995) suggests that the power of these stereotypes relates to the power of those who have in the past or are now believed to inhabit rural areas. The countryside he suggests, belongs discursively to the middle classes, the landowners, those who engage in blood sports and is therefore exclusive by definition. This is "symbolic politics" which requires a single and homogenised view of rural society to sustain it. This vision of the rural is played upon by images of "thatched cottages and red-coated huntsmen", stands for England and is "by definition exclusionary" (Sibley 1995 :107). By defining rigidly place boundaries and the populations which inhabit them "discrepant others" (Sibley 1995) are created who in turn are reacted to by the dominant population in terms of fear, and their perceived loss of authority in this space. The central place "expels its anxieties, contradictions and irrationalities onto the

subordinate terms [the Other], filling it with the antithesis of its own identity: the Other, in its very alieness, simply mirrors and represents what is deeply familiar to the centre, but projected outside of itself." (Rutherford 1990 :22). The power of rural discourses ensures that rural areas project feelings of exclusion onto places and people beyond its own geographic boundary[11] whether such boundaries reflect reality of not.

Social norms are therefore established for the rural environment and those not conforming are excluded physically, discursively or both. These social norms relate to the nature of the inhabitants believed to inhabit rural areas, their social and cultural practices in everyday life and indeed their attitudes and morals. This relates well to the work of Bourdieu (1984) whose notion of 'Habitus' describes the cultural practices of the working and middle classes in France. How we experience space, as much as any other phenomenon, relates to our class, gender and the reconstitution of the dominant codes and signs as experienced through everyday life (Crouch 1992 :233). For Bourdieu the working class and middle class experience of place relates directly to these factors, to the Habitus which they belong to. Each Habitus is asserted through its difference from others, be it in terms of occupation, education, income, artistic preference or taste in food. And norms are established for all these aspects of lifestyle. For the working classes Bourdieu sees their Habitus, or cultural identity, as emerging from their experience of spatial surroundings in association with particular cultural practices. For the bourgeoisie there less emphasis is made on social determination and they present it in terms of "proper aesthetics, in an effort to make it appear 'natural'" (Crouch 1992 :233). Relating this back to rural areas the bourgeoisie remain the dominant class, their Habitus becomes conceptualised as a 'natural' way of life for rural areas and social norms for that area are constructed out of that Habitus. Rural culture as experienced or created by the dominant classes comes to be seen as natural or as the norm. Social exclusion of other groups is furthered and the rural

[11]The existence of boundaries is itself exclusionary. Boundaries create insiders and outsiders Sack concludes "territoriality is a primary geographical expression of social power. It is the means by which society and space are related" (1986 :5).

environment comes to be seen in terms of the social and cultural practices of the dominant, bourgeoisie, class[12]. The rural environment as a zone of exclusion becomes a territorialised landscape.

Dominant discourses of the rural are also reinforced with the power to override negative aspects of rurality. Rose (1994) argues that geographers tend to concentrate on images which are produced by the powerful, and consequently neglect the ruralities of many others. Geographers must seek to recognise both the images produced by the powerful, and those produced by marginalised groups struggling to resist constructions that further marginalise them (Rose 1994). After all;

> whilst all of us participate in symbolising the world, people do not enjoy equal access to the conditions for creating those shared symbols (Anderson and Gayle 1992 :7).

As Cloke and Little (1997 :4) conclude, power is bound up discursively in the very socio-cultural constructs which have characterised rurality. As such, alternative 'lay' discourses of the rural tend to remain unrecognised or are excluded from mainstream rural discourses. Philo (1992) argues that because academic discourses tend to be written by the dominant groups in society more 'local' stories are rarely heard or "allowed to qualify (let alone dismantle) the grand moves of the grand masses" (19921:99). If we suggest that alternative discourses of rurality do exist, that there are negative aspects of rurality then maybe we are again suggesting that the image of rurality as a confined and unique space is losing its emphasis, that the rural and urban are increasingly similar. In this case would rurality still make a difference to the lives of the young people living there?

As a result of such critiques, recognition of rural others has begun and analyses of some of the marginalised groups within rural society now pervades much of contemporary rural research. Academics such as Bell and Valentine (1995),

[12]Later in Chapter Six I shall return to this idea of Habitus when considering the way in which social norms surrounding drug use are established in the village environments.

Hughes (1996), Spooner and Agyemen (1997) and Jones (1997) are recognising that the rural environment is indeed multifaceted and this is reflected in the people that inhabit these areas[13]. Within this, discourses of the rural have widened considerably and rural research appears to reflect a more realistic rurality than it did previously. This focus on rural others has been criticised by academics such as Doel (1994) who caution us about the use of the term 'the other'. For Doel, and many of his contemporaries, a recognition of these 'other' groups emerges within our own natural order frameworks of how we view the world. We impose familiarity of language and representation onto other subjects (Cloke and Little 1997) and treat them as 'the other of the same'. What Doel argues for is a recognition that there are groups within the other, the 'other of the other', whose stories also need to be heard. Shurmer-Smith and Hannam (1994), suggest that this process of grouping the other into one often results from a binary division that regards all those that are different from ourselves as others. In conclusion they argue;

> as soon as we start to think about people who are not ourselves we lapse into the language of 'Othering' and, as one urges oneself to consider 'Others' or to see the 'Other' side of the questions, those who are 'not like 'me' can start to slide into homogenous mass of difference from 'me', essentially the same as each other (1994 :89).

This process of 'othering' groups that differ from ourselves is also embedded within distinct notions of power. For those we class as other become the powerless which we label as such because of their difference from the dominant groups. Said's (1993) work on the Orient and the Occident illustrates this well, whereby he argues that the discursive formation of the Orient as 'other' rests on "a complex hegemony of domination which has been invested in both materially and culturally by the colonial powers of the West" (Cloke and Little 1997 :6). Thus, what emerges are further boundaries of inclusion and exclusion for the category of 'the other'. In research such as mine, what becomes essential is a recognition that within the category of the 'other' there are multitudes of experiences.

[13] Their work includes research into social groups such as lesbians and gays, people of colour, women and children.

Rose (1994) echoes this and suggests that although power relations are vital in any cultural analysis of rurality we must recognise that there is more to an analysis of this nature than the 'binary model' of 'us' and of the 'other', or of 'hegemonic and counter-hegemonic' that academics so frequently refer to (1994 :48). What must be incorporated Rose argues, is factors such as class, gender, race, age and sexuality, to recognise that people have multiple identities which cannot be reduced to a dichotomy of haves and have nots in terms of the power they as individuals hold. Philo (1991) too calls for geographers to recognise multiple forms of otherness in the countryside, be it in terms of gender, sexuality, or other aspects of lifestyle[14].

A recognition of the multiple forms of otherness that exist in rural societies such as this, a widens rural discourses, and yet has itself come under criticism for being overly specific in what it regards as the 'other'. In addition academics have recently been criticised for privileging certain forms of otherness including gender, sexuality, race, age, disability, alternativeness over other less 'popular' or exotic forms of difference. Cloke and Little (1997) argue there is a need to avoid this kind of oversimplification of important and complex domains of otherness. They suggest there is a need to recognise;

> those which are less easily categorised and perhaps hybrid, those which are less glamorous, those traits of otherness which maybe partial and transitory aspects of peoples identity, but which will often not be used to categorise the whole self, and so on- which contributes to positionings and identities that are important in the messiness of rural populations and their lifestyles (1997 :11).

In addition to the less easily categorised traits of otherness which Clcke and Little identify, it becomes imperative that we, as researchers, acknowledge too

[14]This is important with respect to the increasing use of the rural by what Cloke and Thrift (1987) term 'the new service class' who have used their economic capital to move into and colonise rural areas. Consequently, they have utilised the rural to illustrate their social position in society and have created a rurality which is saturated with 'cultural capital' as a marketable commodity. Thus the 'new service class' have had the economic and cultural power to create and circulate the dominant images of the rural which have in turn neglected those aspects of rural life which are in opposition to their ideals. Rural space is the purified at an ideological level by those in powerful positions.

that within each individual, personal identities can be variously positioned in time and space and are often hybrid in nature (Morley and Robbins 1995). Pile and Thrift (1995) urge us to look 'in between' these domains to discover the ongoing processes of negotiation and re negotiation by which selves and others are represented . There is therefore not one rurality but many, not one rural other, but many and not one experience which relates to individuals in any of the categories for they change in space and time.

In recognising these multiple identities researchers come under the threat of being overly relativistic. After all, if we acknowledge that individuals are simply that, individuals with individual identities and problems, it is questionable as to whether we are able to make any claims about the nature of these 'rural others' at all? Indeed Murdoch and Pratt (1994) argue that simply "giving 'voice to' 'others' through research by no means guarantees that we will uncover the relations which lead to marginalisation or neglect". After all, are we not all tourists researching the world of others through a brief glimpse at their lives? We are unable to know what the 'other' is thinking because we are unable to detach our research from our own positionality. In seeking to access narratives of others and otherness we can become "mere tourists, weighed down by the dominant self-authority of author-power, and unable to escape the condemnation of our own sensibilities" (Cloke and Little 1997 :13).

This point of view opens up interesting questions about the validity of studying 'the other' in this way. In this thesis I research one such 'other', that of rural youth, and in doing so make claims about the lifestyles and cultures which they are a part of. I seek to get between the identities of otherness which they as a group, of 'rural youth' have been assigned, and represent through my own work the intricate details of their lives. By uncovering the multitude of experiences young people have of rural life, it is hoped that discourses of rurality can be widened, and in doing so I can represent a more 'real' rurality. Indeed we should recognise that there is neither *one* rural nor *one* idyll (Cloke 1995), and I would suggest nor is there one rural 'other', but many, and many within that.

Our role as researchers is as Gregory (1994) suggests is an optimistic one. Despite all the shortcomings and problems associated with researching 'the other' we must proceed to uncover the issues involved with the lives of rural others in whatever shape or form they emerge. There is also a need to proceed with caution and an understanding of the problems within our textual representations of rural life. In this research I seek to analyse whether life in a rural area for these 'others' differs in the way that discourses of the rural imply it does. Is this other side of rurality something which draws it in line with the urban, or do rural youth still experience differences from urban youth in their lifestyles?

In the following section I will draw upon literatures of children's countrysides to illustrate the way in which the rural has been systematically viewed as a utopian living environment for children as well as adults and therefore different from urban upbringings. In doing this the shortcomings of the rural environment for teenagers will be addressed and their position as a 'rural other' for this study will be identified.

1.6 Lay discourses of the rural- Young people and their experiences in rural Britain.

The integration of young people's experiences into discourses of the rural has yet to become a focal point of much of rural research. Yet young people form a social group which I would argue have been deeply affected by most aspects of rural restructuring[15]. Throughout this chapter it has been argued that the rural as an environment and as a cultural construct, holds distinct meanings for people at a variety of discursive and experiential levels, concluding that there is no single rural experience, but many. Young people are one such group whose experiences of rural life often differ considerably from those depicted through the hegemonic discourses of rurality. Indeed the rural environment may be less than ideal for them as a place in which to grow up. The central tenet of this

[15]Such restructuring refers to the centralisation of services including education, transport, leisure facilities and employment.

thesis has been to ascertain the ways in which rural life makes a difference to the experiences and opportunities available to the young people living there. Do differences still exist between the childhoods of urban and rural children, or are they increasingly equal, and do these differences constitute positive attributes for rurality (as popular discourses suggest) or are they more negative?

For many parents I would suggest the initial choice to live in the countryside is influenced by the 'reputation' that it is an apt place to bring up children[16]. The notion of a sanitised landscape inhabited by a sanitised population attracts parents in the belief that it will influence their child's behaviour and morals. Popular discourses, illustrating a safe, friendly, fulfilling environment, lure parents into consuming a 'rural lifestyle' and adhering to a perceived 'rural way of life', fed to them through discourses, believing it will benefit their offspring. Often schools in rural areas have better reputations and attract parents to raise their children there. Here the difference a rural upbringing makes can be construed in only positive ways.

This rural way of life is extended to the life of the child at a variety of discursive levels too. Jones (1997) argues that country childhood discourses are widespread and range from packaging and promotional material through to articles in rural lifestyle magazines, to the most popular of literary works such as Laurie Lee's (1962) Cider with Rosie[17] and Flora Thompson's (1973) Lark rise to Candleford. Within these Jones (1997) argues that rural childhoods have;

> become explicitly and forcefully encoded in processes of consumption and commodification, the stories and products are conceived, produced and marketed by adults and are targeted at children and the adults who will deliver them through purchasing, giving, reading and planned playing etc. (Jones 1997 :161).

[16] Indeed as my research in Yorkshire has illustrated the young people believed their parents chose to live in such areas on an understanding that they were free from social problems like crime, drug use, violence. And Valentine's (1997) work echoes these sentiments.
[17] Although it must be noted that Cider with Rosie also referred to the use of drugs and the participation in sex by rural children and so can also be used as a counter argument to this.

In such discourses the rural childhood is conceptualised as purer than that which the urban can offer. They are seen "powerfully in terms of a synthesis of innocence, wildness, play, adventure, the companionship of other children, contact with nature, agricultural spaces and practices, healthiness[18], spatial freedom, and freedom from adult surveillance" (Jones 1997:162). Little and Austin's (1997) study of rural mothers claimed that there was a strong perception that the country is a safe place to bring up children and that this is a dominant factor in the choice to live in the countryside. The countryside and childhood become innocent and pure, an other to the modernity of the city. A place where children can be "uncontaminated by urban influences which muddy and confuse the image....there is something 'authentic' or 'organic' about rural childhood" (Ward 1990 :19). These ideas often influence the child's and the adults perceptions of rural life and can be influential in the decision to move to rural areas, creating a set of expectations about what that lifestyle will involve.

For the children of rural areas, early childhood is thought to offer a plethora of experiences unavailable in urban areas and include adventure and the freedom to explore in a safe and stimulating environment. As Valentine (1997) suggests "a rural environment is perceived to shelter young people from the commercial pressures of the fashion industry and peer group pressures to engage in drugs, underage sex, bullying, violent crime and bad language. " (1997 :7). Again the difference that rural living makes is a positive aspect of rurality. As Aitkin (1994) concludes these positive aspects of rural life for children allow them to;

> have a different kind of outdoor experience [from urban children], more intimately tied to natural systems....[and they can] explore distant forests and hills. (1994 :58).

These sentiments were echoed by the work of Ward (1978, 1990), Hart (1979), Wood (1982, 1985a, 1985b) Moore (1986) and Aitkin and Ginsburg (1988) who suggest that children and young people themselves prefer to play in 'natural' spaces where they can create their own activities and modify their

[18]This idea of health and rurality will be discussed further in Chapter Two.

environment as they please (Valentine 1997). The rural landscape provides a facility for just this as they are seen to allow free play without incurring the wrath of other people (Valentine 1996a, 1996b).

The rural is not however exempt from all that occurs in the urban. As I argued earlier in this chapter, geographic spaces are no longer separated in the same way they used to be, there are increasing links within and between areas[19]. Our 'global village' has ensured that nowhere is isolated from the influences, both good and bad, of other areas. Indeed, Valentine argues that villages have in recent years become a "honeypot for tourism" this tourism bringing with it strangers and dangers which threaten the purity of village life (1997 :11). In her study of 'Wheldale' Valentine found several of her adult respondents becoming increasingly aware of the dangers of urban life encroaching onto the rural landscape, she says they [the respondents] are aware that "the village is more exposed to urban dangers (crime, drugs, joyriders), whilst simultaneously they pointed out that as a result of economic restructuring the distance between the town and country has expanded....[facilities that were] locally available are now remote (1997 :11). Here the rural becomes aligned with the urban and its social and moral failings and differences between the two landscapes are reduced.

But I also argued earlier that processes of globalisation have not reduced places to one mass space devoid of their specificity. Individualism still persists and the rural environment makes a difference to the lives of the young people living there in both positive and negative ways. Often the most negative aspect of rural life for this group is the restrictions of geographical separation. In terms of the older child, the adolescent, the rural environment can be seen as limiting in terms of the experiences and choices available to them. The freedom it held in early childhood often translates into isolation from mainstream youth cultures, music venues, sport facilities, cinema, and simple access to meeting

[19]Indeed many would argue that in Britain rural areas have never been so removed from the rural that they have been exempt from urban experiences.

places[20]. Younger children find this immediate environment an adequate source of entertainment because they have little understanding, or need to be part, of a wider cultural community.

Youth in rural areas are often dissatisfied with their surrounding environment, finding that it holds limited facilities and difficulties in terms of transport to social events, which can transcend into feelings of isolation and boredom (Rural Development Commission). This is exacerbated because these problems are often left unrecognised. Adults are generally more concerned about the problems young people "are perceived to cause rather than the legitimate needs they have because of where they live".(Phillips and Skinner 1994). For young people negative aspects of rural life such access to housing, employment, higher wages, are not crucial to their contentment with rural life. However, the inaccessibility of recreational facilities and other youth cultural activities are vital to their identity and sense of belonging. Social and cultural marginalisation becomes more important than many material aspects of deprivation. Young people may feel more acutely marginalisation through "a lack of power, choice and opportunity" than other more material aspects of deprivation (Cloke Milbourne and Thomas 1995 :9). Work such as that carried out in the 1970's suggested that isolation was a key factor in the lives of rural youth, and has since been systematically reinforced by the work of researchers such as Kennedy (1984) Ward (1990), McDonald (1991) and work carried out by organisations such as the National Youth Agency and The Rural Development Commission. All focus on isolation and here it can be argued that rurality still makes a difference to the lives of young people, but in a negative rather than positive way and this contrasts strongly with the image of rurality portrayed through the rural idyll.

[20] Indeed in early research in Yorkshire and Hertfordshire this was found to be true. Young people talked of boredom, frustration and limitations in the rural environment for them. Common themes were accessibility and isolation. Many of these ideas will be addressed later in the thesis using evidence from the fieldwork to demonstrate the main themes emerging.

Colin Ward's The Child in the Country (1990) looked historically at deprivation in the countryside as experienced by children, explaining that rural areas have always been disadvantaged compared to their urban counterparts. Although this seemed to lessen as public transport was developed in the 1950's it was again a focal point of that deprivation when 'centralisation' of services left many rural areas remote and isolated. Ward talks consistently of both the positive and negative aspects of living in the countryside for children, arguing that in recent years the advance of mass communication has helped alleviate some of this disadvantage. He suggests that;

> [t]he steady advance of mass communication into rural society has been a blessing and, quite simply, a *liberation* for rural children, providing just a glimpse of the outside world which was always taken for granted by their social superiors. (1990 :6-7).

I agree to an extent with Ward that the lives of rural children have been liberated from a degree of isolation by such communications networks. However, by allowing them access to certain parts of the modern world through such communication, but not full access due to geographical boundaries, I feel that young people's isolation can be exaggerated rather than reduced. Ward (1990) recognises this in his work arguing that 'play/ recreation' spaces in rural areas have been consistently closed off to young people through the ever expanding 'Trespassers keep out' signs. This followed the work of Shoard (1980) who argued that the loss of hedgerows had a profound impact on the lives of children as well as wildlife. Our public areas in the countryside are increasingly private and free access is further restricted[21]. Access is therefore a crucial issue for young people both in their local environment and beyond. Many have to travel long distances in order to participate in the lifestyles they see so readily in media images and are also restricted from using fully the countryside which is their home. Perhaps young people;

[21] This has implications for the ways in which places are regarded as public or private spaces. In Chapter Six I shall address these issues further suggesting that through drug use certain areas within the village have become no-go zones for non-using members of the village community.

> feel more acutely than most their physical distance from the apparent urban-based excitements of modernity (to which they are constantly exposed through the immediacy of television and other media). (Philo 1992 :195).

Negative aspects of rurality can be identified as a series of distinct 'indicators' of marginalisation including, isolation, lack of privacy (less opportunity to experiment, parental involvement in all activities including transportation), staid social environment, poor access to facilities, feelings of marginalisation, limited experiences and feelings that the world is governed by urban experiences. The rural emerges as a sight of isolation and loneliness for many young people and the idyll as a reflection of reality can be contested at a variety of levels (Jones 1997 :163).

Phillips and Skinner (1994) argue there is a 'goldfish bowl' syndrome in rural areas which makes youth lifestyles so public and subject to criticism. The environment has strong community ties, where you 'know everyone' and this can be both a positive and negative aspect of the rural landscape[22]. Young people are often informally pressurised to conform to the social norms of the village at an age when experimentation and individuality should be praised and encouraged. Youth, after all is the time when identity formation away from the constraints of parental control is possible. Rural life is therefore often characterised by isolation, claustrophobia, limited horizons, low self esteem and poorly developed personal identity (Derounian 1993 :61). Further to this, young people are given little access to voice their opinions and play an active role in the decision making processes of their communities, and feelings of helplessness and frustration are therefore often exacerbated.

This section has identified how the different ways rural childhoods can be seen. For some, where the rural is still separate from the urban, it may provide purity and sanctity for their children. For others this difference or separation means a

[22] Indeed from work in Yorkshire (see Chapter Seven) the notion of community was deemed to have both positive and negative aspects to it. The positive aspects such as knowing everyone did not seem to out weigh negative aspects such as gossip, the conservative attitudes and a lack of any degree of anonymity.

lack of experience and choice for the young people. The final way that the rural is seen is as similar to the urban where processes of globalisation ensure that urban situations are now as much rural as urban. If this is so then rurality should be experiencing phenomenon such as drug use. In the following section I shall define what I will call a drug for the purpose of this thesis and establish the standpoint from which the work is carried out. In section 1.8 I shall draw attention to the use of drugs in rural areas as one 'dark side' of rurality (Barrell 1980). I will suggest that it is a facet of rural life both historically and in contemporary Britain. I shall then illustrate how contemporary discourses of rural drug use continue to highlight certain aspects of the drugs culture forming distinct stereotypes surrounding the groups, substances and places that are thought to be involved. Finally I shall turn to the work from New Zealand and will follow a similar line of analysis for the study of rurality and drug use there.

1.7 The definition of 'drugs'.

Prior to the fieldwork I was concerned about the use of the term 'drug' and 'drug user', which I felt carried with them distinct connotations about the nature of the populations involved. I also recognised the need to define precisely what I termed to be a drug. The defining of a drug problem is a complex issue and involves positioning the researcher within a) his/her morals and choice to participate in the drugs scene or not, b) the legal position which he/she accepts, and c) their choice of definition of what constitutes a drug.

The term 'drug', by definition has dualistic meaning donating both, "a medicinal substance" and "a narcotic hallucinogen, or stimulant especially one causing addiction" (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1990 :360), the two terms being almost synonymous with each other[23]. General definitions encompassing both definitions state drugs to be, "any chemical substance or agent that affects the

[23]Indeed Parascandola (1995) argues in the US between the late 1800's and the early 1900's the term 'drug' came to describe both medicinal substances and narcotics, which he argues was fiercely contested by physicians of the period. However, it is evident that their efforts were in vain and Parascandola concludes "Their belief that they could educate the public about the 'correct' use of the word and disassociate it from substance abuse was naive and overly optimistic" (1995 :165)

physiological and/or psychological, and/or social functions and is taken for 'comfort, stimulation or pleasure' "(C.Reeves, 1972). Acceptability/ non-acceptability of a substance is therefore an ambiguous area, and is usually determined by social law rather than chemical composition.

The term 'drug carries with it specific images and meaning, seen often as something illegal, taken in an abusive manner, bringing with it images of addiction[24]. Conversely, medical substances used, although often identical, or at least similar in chemical content, are seen as socially acceptable when used under certain conditions. The divisions between socially acceptable substances and those termed 'narcotics' appears unambiguous in terms of the law, yet debate continues in both academic and public circles[25].

Inconsistency with respect to what is socially acceptable and what is not, is illustrated well with regard to many socially accepted substances such as tea, coffee, alcohol and tobacco. Substances like caffeine, alcohol and tobacco are not termed 'drugs' because they are socially accepted despite a strong recognition of their addictive nature. Alcohol as an example of a socially accepted and regularly consumed substance, has brought about in its time social misery for those addicted, yet continues to epitomise western adult social behaviour. There appears to be no correlation between potential harm and acceptability of a substance. Indeed for my research group legal substances such as tobacco and alcohol are illegal and yet are often consumed by young people in their leisure time. Dally (1995) argues the definition of drugs is a debatable issue and that;

> some pharmacological substances, for example alcohol and tobacco, are major causes of death, yet are permitted to be sold and even advertised, and are a major source of government revenue. Others are regarded as 'ethical', and require a doctor's prescription. Some of the less harmful

[24]Something I would argue is specific in content, an image of a young, male addict, often from some kind of deprived circumstances. This image I will later argue, is depicted in academic and popular discourses.

[25]See work by Dally (1995) and Mathee (1995) on debates on the legality of substances and the distinctions between so called 'narcotics' and substances like tea, coffee, alcohol and cocoa.

> drugs, for example cannabis and heroin, are made dangerous by myth, politics, illegality and other social factors. Governments and doctors capitalise on collective fantasies. (1995 :199).

This is evidently a strong view on the acceptability and non-acceptability of drugs but opens up interesting points on how we, as the public, come to perceive the drugs 'problem' and drugs *per se*. The acceptability, or non acceptability of a drug has obviously travelled along an uncertain continuum throughout history, usually dependent upon the legal status of substances at the time. Indeed the use of opium in Roman and Hellenistic medicine was widely accepted. And despite the addictive and potentially death causing nature of opium it persisted as a medicinal substance for many decades (Scarborough 1995). Scarborough (1995 :18) suggests therefore that we should perhaps "put 'addiction' in a context of interpretation, according to the social opinions which dominate a particular era" rather than regarding it only at the point in time at which we are studying it.

It was in the late 19th century that the definition of drug use changed from one where regular opiate use was seen as little more than a bad habit, a minor moral failing, to one where it was conceptualised as a disease (Berridge 1989 :27). Coomber (1995) argues it was then, in the late 1860's, that substance use took on particular social, cultural and racial tones. Media reports of the time associated opiate use with the Chinese population, linking the presence of one with the presence of the other. Coomber (1995 :123) uses examples from literature to illustrate the increasing hostility towards the drug and its users, from Dickens's Mystery of Edwin Drood (1870) to Oscar Wilde's Picture of Dorian Gray and Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories, opiate use was widespread. Opium smoking was depicted in these books in a certain way, and as Berridge and Edwards suggest it was depicted;

> in a manner soon accepted as reality.[The bodies of those using were described as]....'fantastic postures on ragged mattresses. The twisted limbs, the gaping mouths, the staring lusterless eyes'...Not all writers were so obviously hostile, yet from the 1870's an increasing tone of racial and cultural hostility was discernible (Berridge and Edwards 1987 :197).

Addiction developed to be termed a social and moral failing, an illness for which there was believed to be a cure. The addiction could be treated by the doctors and kept away from the majority of society. Foucault (1976) argues from then on disease developed to be seen in a reductionist way, the anatomo-physiological knowledge of the body allowing the construction of what normality was, against which deviations could be judged. Once such deviations were recognised, they could be more easily treated. Drug use, as one such deviation, could be criminalised through the legal system. Here definitions of illicit drugs become defined only by the law, and not generally through its potential risk to society at large. Dally (1995) argues the non-medical use of drugs is an example of how society, supported by the medical profession constructs 'problems' and invents 'diseases' for which they can find treatments (1995 :199).

Terminology surrounding the drugs issue comes embedded with meaning, many argue for an almost relativist, individualised definition because; "implicit in such words as 'drug abuse', 'drug problems', or 'drug misuse' are complex and potentially value laden ideas" (Royal College of Psychiatrists 1987 :26). Each such 'value laden idea' brings with it stereotypical images of drug users, more often than not, seen as deprived individuals using hard drugs as a form of escapism. Dally (1995) illustrates this well using examples from the World Health Organisation's conferences, quoting one committee as stating that certain drugs;

> posses a particular attraction for certain psychologically and socially maladjusted persons who have difficulty in conforming to the usual social norms. These include 'arty' people such as struggling writers, painters and musicians; frustrated non-conformists; and curious, thrill seeking adolescents and young adults. (1995 :205).

Such ideas in official forums do little to counter stereotypes and I would suggest further the neglect of many drug using groups at a discursive level.

For the purpose of this study substances termed as drugs by the legal system, and other substances not classed as such, but used by young people for the

psychological and physiological effects they have on consumption, will be termed drugs. I wished to use the term substance rather than the term drug to avoid many of the connotations of this term, but as I shall illustrate in the empirical chapters many of the young people used the term drug, and so I will use both throughout this thesis, but continue to argue that my use of the term drug incorporates substances not classified officially as drugs[26]. I will regard all levels of use but will term misuse/ abuse as;

> any taking of a drug which harms or threatens to harm the physical or mental health or social well being of an individual, or other individuals or society at large, or which is illegal. (Royal College of Psychiatrists 1987 :30).

Substances are classified as illegal by the drugs laws, the most recent being formulated in 1971. Termed the Misuse of Drugs Act it classifies substances as illegal through a combination of their chemical structure, origin, effects, medical purposes and availability. Substances are usually categorised by type of drug into opiates, general depressants, minor tranquillisers, stimulants, hallucinogens, with each category containing many different substances. The diagram on the following page illustrates the different substances known to be used, and those which will form the basis of my research inquiry. In addition I recognised new and more 'unconventional' substances including farm substances and aerosols and took them on board when interviewing young people.

[26] Indeed it has been noticed by a variety of sources that more 'unusual' substances have recently made their way onto the drug scene. These include farm substances like pig tranquillisors, solvents, prescribed medicines, (see later for further details).

Table 1.1 Drugs on the contemporary drugs scene.

TYPE OF DRUG.	LEGAL STATUS	DESCRIPTION	HOW TAKEN	EFFECTS (+ve)	EFFECTS (-ve)	STREET PRICE.
STIMULANTS						
Ecstasy	Illegal, class A, Known medically as MDMA.	Capsules and tablets	Swallowed.	Feelings of euphoria, love and energy. Used as part of the dance and rave scene.	Death often caused by overheating, possible liver damage.	£10-£25 per tablet.
Amphetamines (known also as speed or whizz).	Illegal unless prescribed. Class A if prepared for injection Class B otherwise.	Powder, tablets or capsules.	Swallowed, sniffed or injected.	Rush of energy, lack of desire for sleep, lack of appetite.	Nervousness, anxiety and paranoia.	£5 -£10 per half gram.
Cocaine.	Illegal unless for medical purposes. Class A.	White powder or small white blocks called crack.	Powder sniffed or injected Crack is smoked.	Exhilaration, feelings of well being indifference to pain.	Anxiety and paranoia. Addictive in nature.	£80- £100 per gram.
Solvents. Known commonly as glues, lighter fuels, aerosols.	Illegal to knowingly sell for purpose of inhalation.	Glues etc. household products.	Vapours inhaled.	Similar to alcohol, euphoria and unreality.	Can create long term dependency.	Shop prices.
HALLUCINOGEN						
LSD or Acid. Also known as trips, tabs.	Class A 7 years sentence if caught	Small white or brown tablets or on blotting paper.	Swallowed.	Heightened perceptions, aural and visual *hallucinations, sense* of profundity.	'Bad trips' cause depression, anxiety. May *effect long term* mental health. Often flashbacks for years from the hallucinogenic experience.	£3 to £5 per tablet.
Magic mushrooms.	Illegal if prepared for eating.	Swallowed raw or cooked in food.	Ingested.	Similar hallucinogens to LSD/Acid	Hangover effect when wearing off. Depression.	Usually picked not purchased.
Poppers	Illegal t be used as a drug sold legally as	Liquid	Fumes inhaled			
Cannabis	Illegal Class B maximum penalty 5 years often offenders cautioned.	Hash - brown solid resin, Grass = dried leaves of the plant, known as dope, ganja, pot, blow or draw.	Smoked with tobacco or eaten.	Heightened appreciation of sound and colour, relaxation and well being.	Short term memory loss.	£15 to £30 per quarter ounce.
GENERAL DEPRESSANTS.						
Alcohol	Alcohol is legally sold to those over 18 years of age.	Alcohol comes in liquid form in many types.	Swallowed.	Relaxation, reduced ability of judgement, sedation, reduction in anxiety.	Characteristic withdrawal after use. Excess can lead to alcohol poisoning.	Varies dependent on type and quantity.
MINOR TRANQUILLISORS						
Prescribed tablets	Used medicinally and recreationally for a variety of reasons.	Usually tablets come in many forms. Include barbiturates and valium.	Swallowed.	Sedation, muscle relaxation and anxiety relief.	Often addictive in nature.	Usually prescribed.

1.8 Historical evidence of the use of substances in, and around rural Britain.

Substance use for both medicinal and social purposes is not a recent phenomenon in rural or urban areas. Dean argues that "the recreational use of mind altering substances has not arisen from the beginning within contemporary society but is instead changing in nature over time" (1995 :277). Substance use can be traced back at least as far as the Stone Age. Ancient carving patterns found in Britain have illustrated distinct similarities with those drawn by drug takers in controlled experiments in the 1960's and 1970's. Scientists have also established that psilocybe (commonly known as 'magic mushrooms') and ergot, a parasitic fungus found in grasses and cereals were available in 3000 B.C. Near Glenrothes traces of henbane, a poisonous plant with hallucinogenic properties that had been mixed into a porridge, were recently discovered and thought to have been eaten in Neolithic times (Syal 1995). Dronfield, an archaeologist from Cambridge University, believes these substances were used at ancient religious sites to alter the state of mind of those taking part in primitive ceremonies (Syal 1995).

The use of the opium poppy as a component of pharmacy and medicine was also prevalent in ancient Greece. Scarborough (1995) notes its use encompassed matters of dietetics as well as frequent employment as a soporific and a general analgesic (1995 :4). The use of opium diversified during the period of Greco-Roman medicine to incorporate it as a cure for inflamed boils, as a pain killer "for coughs and tracheal discharges, as well as bowel conditions" (Dioscorides quoted in Scarborough), and as a cure for gout. The work of Maehle (1995) suggests that opium was widely used in the 18th century in the experimentation to find new pharmacological substances. Maehle quotes Brown from his Elements of Medicine (1735-88) and suggests that it had powers beyond those of ether, camphor, musk and alcohol and was suitable for the cure of gout. Opiates and other narcotics were not seen as completely harmless though, it was widely accepted amongst the medical profession that such substances could cause addiction and even death. It was

not this however, that opium is remembered for during this period, but the many ailments it cured (Scarborough 1995 :18).

Historical use of mind altering substances does not only include those substances termed as drugs in contemporary society but includes more common substances such as coffee and tobacco. Mathee (1995) argues that between the 16th and 19th centuries tobacco, coffee, cacao, tea and distilled liquor were introduced to many societies and found acceptance as they spread across the globe (1995 :24)[27]. These substances were often initially introduced as medicinal remedies for minor ailments, or to counter the effects of other substances and often followed similar patterns of introduction, distribution and use to that of opiates and other 'narcotics' in previous centuries. What differentiated them from the narcotics was their path to social acceptance. Where opiates took on board notions of sin and corruption, tobacco, alcohol tea and coffee became the epitome of the esteemed past-times of the affluent middle classes, and a sign of class and respectability.

Among the artistic and literary circles, both in urban and rural areas, substances were also thought to aid creativity. Romantic poets like Thomas de Quincey and Samuel Taylor Coleridge were renowned for their use of opiates providing mind expansive experiences which they felt expanded their writing skills (Golding 1993). De Quincey continued to take opium for many years and wrote some of his best works whilst under the influence. Opium, he said was "the panacea for all human woes...here was the secret of happiness which philosophers had disputed for so many years (De Quincey 1821). Even writers such as Keats were known to have experimented with the substance. Drug use and drugs users and even the effects of drugs were all sources of inspiration to the writers Dickens's The Mystery of Ewin Drood, Robert Louis Stevenson's The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, and Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes all centre of drug use at some point and reflect the popularity of both the activity and literature on it during this period. The drug scene was

[27] Although it must be noted that alcohol was banned in India and the USA.

therefore associated more with upper and middle classes, and it was only when it became associated with the lower classes that it was deemed inappropriate and took on board negative connotations.

It was not simply those substances we would term 'narcotics' today that were used in rural areas. Dean (1995) argues that in the Scottish Highlands the use of alcohol was widespread in the early 18th century, and was often consumed over a period of 24-48 hours in a formalised routine, usually with the men meeting for the sole purpose of drinking[28]. Cooper (1979) furthers this point by contesting that illicit distilling "was as much a part of the rural scene as hay making" (in Dean 1995)[29].

Opium was the most widely used drug alongside Hashish and was associated with the rural areas of Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire and the Fens in the 18th and 19th centuries. Berridge (1981) notes that in 1862 an analysis of the opium trade identified that more was sold in Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire than in any other parts of the country and that this would be associated with a higher than average death rate in the area. Dr. Julian Hunter reporting to the Medical Officer to the Privy Council in 1863 on the excessive mortality of infants in some rural districts explained;

> A man in south Lincolnshire complained that his wife had spent £100 in opium since he married her. A man may occasionally be seen asleep in a field leaning on his hoe.....A man who is setting about a hard job takes his pill as a preliminary, and may never take beer without dropping a piece of opium into it to melt the popular taste, but to the extreme inconvenience of strangers, narcotic agents are put into the beer by brewers or sellers. (Berridge 1981 :40).

The practice of substance use was an accepted facet of rural life during this period. Berridge (1981) suggests that opium consumption was highest amongst the agricultural populations in low lying marshy areas. Agricultural

[28] It could be argued that this has similarities to the patterns of alcohol consumption exhibited today in rural areas across Britain. The village pub and drinking culture is often thought to be ingrained in rural society and still today's forms a focus of much of the social life of rural areas.

[29]This has parallels with the home growing of cannabis in some rural areas today.

workers would come in from the towns to buy it on market day. It was used for its euphoric effect on the mind and also as a sedative for young children and babies. In addition in small Mill towns opiates were used extensively to counter the effects of the hard working conditions.

Berridge (1981) illustrates how Thomas Hood, an author on a visit to Norfolk "was very much surprised to find that opium or opic as it was vulgarly called was in quite common use in the form of pills among the lower class[es], in the vicinity of the Fens.....the Fen people in the dreary, foggy, cloogy, boggy wastes of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire had flown to the drug for the sake of the magnificent scenery" (in Berridge 1981 :45). The use of drugs as a form of escapism was widely accepted amongst medical practitioners. Dr. Rayleigh Vicars wrote in 1893 in St. George's Gazette that "their colourless lives are temporarily brightened by the passing dreamland vision afforded them by the baneful poppy" (1893 :24-6).

The use of opiates by those from rural districts was an accepted facet of rural life especially use by the agricultural workers. In addition to the source from the market towns much was grown locally in rural districts. Lucas (1930) notes that the white opium poppy was a familiar sight in cottage gardens, grown locally for local consumption. There were also attempts in Norfolk to produce opium en mass as a commercial trade. In 1763 The Society of the Arts appointed a committee to encourage the introduction of rhubarb cultivation and by the end of the century this had diverged to an interest in opium too (Berridge 1977). In 1810 the Caledonian Horticultural Society offered two prizes in its annual competition, one of which was for the best method of preparing 'soporific medicine' (otherwise known as opium)[30].

The consumption of drugs was evidently widespread in rural Britain in the late 19th century, and was concentrated in a few areas. Dr. Hawkins of Kings Lynn

[30]This aspect of the drugs scene will be regarded in terms of contemporary drug use in each of my research areas.

told his readers of "Medicinal Journal" that half the opium imported into Britain was consumed in Lincolnshire and Norfolk. In addition he stated that one chemist sold 200lbs of opium in one year alone, besides 5 or 6 gallons of Laudanum and 5 or 6 gallons of 'Godfreys Elixer' (a pint of Laudanum in every 3 gallons of liquid), (Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions, Journal of Mental Science 1867 :396).

Although briefly, this section has identified the use of substances as being a component of rural life for many centuries and the differences between rural and urban areas seems questionable. But it was not only historically that the use of substances was a prevalent theme in rural society, as I shall suggest in the following section drug use remains a facet of rural life and again differences between rural and urban are questionable. In contemporary society however, the recognition of drug use in rural areas is highlighted or centred around particular styles of use and as I shall illustrate here there is a tendency to highlight certain aspects of the scene and for rural areas to retain their identity of difference.

1.9 Contemporary use of drugs in rural Britain.

In contemporary Britain rural substance use is seen as a minor issue compared to that which occurs in towns and cities. Policy and drug related counselling/ advice remains concentrated in the urban areas, and the rural is often seen as the arena from which rehabilitation can occur because it is free from such issues[31]. There has been an almost complete denial of the existence of rural substance use. From preliminary work carried out in Wales it was suggested to me, that where it is acknowledged there is a general belief that outsiders to the rural environment have brought in the drug using cultures, almost polluting the rural. There was a belief that "somehow it was the English or whoever bringing in the drugs" (Blank 1995)[32]. Even discourses of drug use represent drug use

[31] See Chapter Two for work on the rural as an arena for rehabilitation.

[32] Even overseas there has only recently been a recognition of rural substance use. In my research I found little written work on rural drug use in Britain but that in the USA work by authors such as Donnermeyer (1993) Sarvela and McClendon (1988) Segal (1994) and Pruitt et al (1991) were focusing on the increasing popularity of substance use in rural areas.

as an urban issue. Where education and reporting occurs it is usually in an urban context. Figure 1.1 illustrates one such example where a leaflet emerging from the Institute for the study of drug dependence aimed at the education of young people, focuses images of drug use in an urban context.

Figure 1.1 Drug House Comics from The Institute for the study of drug dependence.

Initially where drug use was recognised in the rural environment it was thought to be centred around two main aspects, that of the rave scene and of the use of 'alternative' substances. Here it was the 'exotic' styles of drug use which were associated with rural areas rather than everyday use of everyday substances.

The 'Second Summer of Love' in 1988 and the years beyond, associated rural life with a newly emerging culture termed 'rave'. It was not new, but a reformed version of sixties youth where "music, style, drugs, language, attitude -[were] being recontexualised in the nineties" (McKay 1996 :104). The rural was important because it was initially in large disused barns that the first 'raves' took place. They were seen by much of the population as;

> a temporary urban excursion into the countryside.....[instilling fear in] the upper-middle class who now control the countryside of at least southern
> England [and who] are determined that the problems of the inner cities should stay in the inner cities and not turn up on their own doorsteps (Aitkin in McKay 1996).

Drugs were evidently seen as one such 'inner city problem'. This was an urban issue which now threatened the stability and perceived uniformed nature of rural areas.

The integration of farm products into mainstream drugs culture was the second association that drugs held with the rural environment and was again a more 'exotic' use of drugs. In 1994 in the town of Driffield Humberside, teenagers were found to be injecting themselves with pig tranquillisers stolen from farms and 'silage sniffing' inhaling the fumes of this vinegary substance to get 'high' (The Independent Sunday 6th March 1994) (Country Life Magazine September 29th 1994)[33]. Hornsby (1995) reported in 1995 that in Licolnshire, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire the use of substances such as Ketamine, azaperone were common amongst youth[34]. Titles such as "Drug Culture grips the heart of England" (Time Out 1994), "Drugs: a new kind of rural pursuit"

[33] Indeed from initial work in Yorkshire there were few reports of such 'alternative' drug taking, but those that did exist involved horse substances.
[34] Ketamine in a veterinary anaesthetic and azaperone is used to calm pigs when they fight.

(Independent 1994) "Cheap Thrills in the land of Tennyson's Boyhood" (Time Out 1994), currently dominate media reports surrounding rural drug use. In 1997 this continues and the Guardian reported in July that a "Well off rural region is [a] hotbed of drugs" referring to the emerging dependence on heroin in local communities in the north of Scotland. Each article illustrates how 'abnormal' such behaviour is thought to be for the rural environment contrasting it with its idyllic status. Figure 1.2 shows examples of some of the more recent articles emerging from the media.

The recognition of the existence of substance use has widened rural discourses, yet by focusing on these two aspects only, still distinguishes rural drug use from that in the urban, accentuating any perceived differences between the two locations and highlighting the abnormality of substance use within rural lifestyles. Rural areas are subsequently characterised as spaces in which 'specialised' substance use occurs in comparison to the urban where more general use is identified[35]. Here as drug use in rural areas takes on specific characteristics the majority of the rural population can remain exempt from the influences of such behaviour. The rural community can retain its stability and 'problem free' identity if drug use is stereotyped onto these two specific types of use and the people likely to use in this way. This skewing or sensationalising ensures that drug use remains outside mainstream rural discourses. In a similar way that discourses of drug use have tended to focus attention onto particular aspects of the drugs scene, there is also a focus on particular sections of the population, discursively drug use is given an image of being centred around certain groups of the population rather than the general public. In the following section these ideas will be identified and stereotypes will be illustrated through the analysis of contemporary statistical evidence of drug use.

[35]By this more general use I refer to the everyday use of substances such as cannabis, alcohol LSD, which are used on a more regular basis and require less commitment to the rave scene than is implied by media reports.

Figure 1.2 Media reporting of contemporary drug use.

Village youngsters join the queue for kicks

BY DOMINIC KENNEDY

AT nightfall in the Cotswolds village of Moreton-in-Marsh, young males gather in the bus shelter to smoke, exchange gossip and wait.

They could be sitting on the narrow wooden benches for hours until a car draws up, driven by an older boy who will take one of the group to the outskirts of the village to hand over a supply of LSD, speed or cannabis. The driver will then take his companion back to the bus shelter, where the drugs are distributed among the group. They wait because none is old enough to hold even a provisional driving licence — they are aged between 14 and 16.

The village bandstand is used as an evening meeting place for youngsters smoking cannabis. The pubs have managed to escape any drug problem: the children are too young to go inside.

This is Gloucestershire, which, along with its neighbour Wiltshire, has the highest rate of drug seizures in England outside Greater London and Merseyside. In the mid-1970s, the academic Martin Plant chose Cheltenham to study drug takers. He discovered a well-organised network of dealers supplying abusers among two communities: bohemian students and hardened criminals. Heroin and cannabis were available.

Today, the network of soft drugs has rolled over the hills into villages on the tourist trail such as Stow-on-the-Wold, where teenagers smoke cannabis in the churchyard or in friends' cars.

Earlier this year, a local youth was arrested allegedly offering LSD and speed (amphetamine sulphate) near Chipping Campden's comprehensive school and outside the youth club.

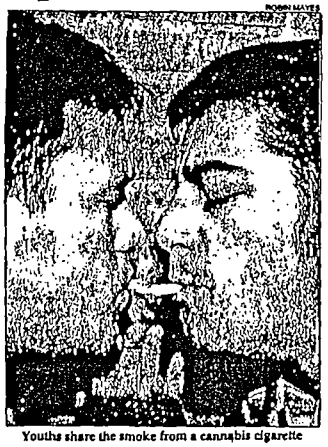
"The age of the children who were taking this stuff really surprised us. We are looking at children as young as 13 taking LSD," said Sergeant Mike Bundy, who works at drug enforcement in the Cotswolds. He is certain that the availability of drugs in the countryside has contributed to the 17 per cent increase in rural crime in the county last year — compared with a 1 per cent fall in urban areas such as Gloucester.

Sergeant Bundy estimates that 80 per cent of the drugs in the area are originally supplied by new-age travellers, whose encampments are frequently visited by youths.

Cheltenham, though, is the hub of trade. In the elegant town centre, a tattooed man assured *The Times* that we would be able to acquire a wrap of speed easily.

Dr Jeffrey Marks, consultant psychiatrist at Cheltenham General Hospital's drugs rehabilitation unit, is one of half a dozen doctors in Britain to prescribe heroin and amphetamines as treatment on the NHS.

"When you mention Cheltenham, you think of retired colonels in bath chairs, the Ladies' College and the races — you don't think of class A drugs," he said. "People of my generation find it hard to believe that drugs are so common nowadays among the young."



Youths share the smoke from a cannabis cigarette

GLOSSARY

- Cannabis (blow, dope, pot, grass): induces feelings of elation. Linked to organic brain damage. Costs £15 per sixteenth-ounce.
- Amphetamine sulphate (whizz, Billy, speed): euphoria, talkativeness. Risks: psychological dependence, contamination from shared needles. £10 per sixteenth-ounce "wrap".
- LSD (trips): hallucinations, panic or violence during a bad trip, illusion that one can fly. £2-£4 per tablet.
- Ecstasy (E, doves): euphoria, desire to be tactile. Toxic side effects, dehydration. £10-£20 per tablet.
- Temazepam (eggs): fight headedness, release of inhibitions. Feelings of confusion or aggression. £1-£5 per tablet.
- Heroin (smack, H, Harry, smoke, scag): euphoria, loss of anxiety. Overdosing, addiction, contaminated dose or needle. £15 for a sixteenth-ounce.
- Cocaine (coke): exhilaration, euphoria. Paranoid delusions, psychological dependence. £40-£60 per gramme.
- Crack (rocks): extreme euphoria. High risk of quick dependence, feelings of distress. From £10 £25 per rock.
- Solvents: often household goods. Induce intoxication, hallucination. Risks accidental death, heart attack.

Research: The Times/Release

THE TIMES MONDAY JUNE 5 1995

Rural drug-takers use tranquillisers meant for pigs

BY MICHAEL HORNSBY, COUNTRYSIDE CORRESPONDENT

DRUG TAKING is on the increase in rural areas and some teenagers are resorting to veterinary medicines, it is claimed in a report published today.

The latest Home Office statistics show that the biggest rises in police drug seizures have occurred not in inner-city areas but in Lincolnshire, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Northampton-shire, the monthly magazine *Country Living* says.

Because the supply of conventional street drugs such as cannabis, heroin and cocaine is less reliable in country areas, drug users are experimenting with substances that are more readily to hand. These include tranquillisers for pigs, Ketamine, a veterinary anaesthetic and painkiller, and magic mushrooms which grow wild but which can easily be confused with poisonous species. Their recreational misuse, it says, of teenagers sniffing the fumes from silage clamps, where cut grass is stored and allowed to ferment before being fed to cattle.

Azaperone is used to calm pigs and stop them fighting when they are penned together. It has a hypnotic effect and is highly hazardous. Use of the drug by teenagers came to light last year when someone sought advice from a drug counselling service in Bridlington, Humberside, on behalf of a friend who had passed out after taking it.

Max Dunn, of the Social Policy Unit at Hull University, who has studied rural drug taking, says: Young people in villages are no different from young people in cities. Some are risk takers, some are not. And if they work on a pig or cattle farm, then they have access to veterinary products instead of street drugs."

It is not uncommon, according to Mr Dunn, for farmers to use chemicals with animal medicines for minor ailments to avoid the bother of seeing a doctor. This "self-medicating culture", he believes, may have encouraged the transition to serious drug taking.

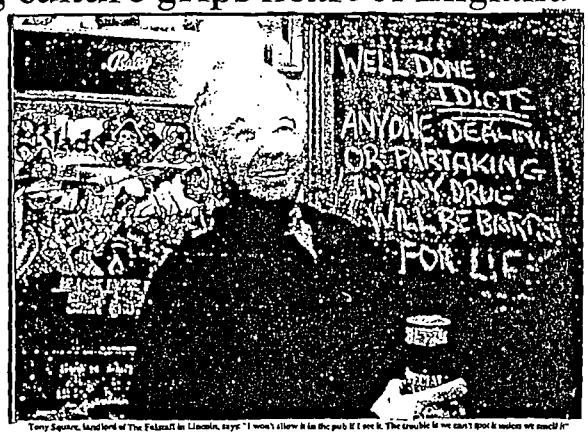
At the Cambridge Centre, a drugs and alcohol advisory centre in Scarborough, North Yorkshire, counsellors have examined cases of young people using ketamine, a powerful animal anaesthetic. In humans it causes hallucinations, lowers the heart rate, reducing oxygen to the brain and muscles.

Mary Stubbs, a social worker at the centre, thinks the problem could occur when a vet's car unattended during sick animals or any other veterinary equipment can legally be used only by vets and is not kept on farms.

The biggest danger for rural drug takers, the magazine says, is the threat of infection with HIV virus through paranoid needles

Times investigation reveals insidious spread of an inner-city affliction

Drug culture grips heart of England



Tony Square, landlord of The Falstaff in Lincoln, says: "I won't allow it in the pub if I see it. The trouble is we can't spot it unless we smell it."

Cheap thrills in land of Tennyson's boyhood

BY EMMA WILKINS

■ In the past ten years rural Lincolnshire has gone from the bottom to the top of the national league for drug seizures

The sprawling agricultural county which inspired George Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss* is experiencing such an explosion of drug abuse that police believe there is no street or hamlet in Lincolnshire where young people gather without its own drug scene.

Teenagers who once supplemented their incomes by picking the county's staple crops of cabbages, potatoes and sprouts, are more likely to be found spending money on cannabis, LSD or speed.

In 1984, Lincolnshire had the lowest rate of drug hauls in Britain, at 70 seizures per million population. In the latest year for which Home Office statistics are available, 1992, there were 656 seizures per million, exceeding the figure for the West Midlands.

Last month, the county's education department found it necessary to employ an assistant teacher to prepare anti-drug messages for primary school children, at a cost of almost £30,000.

Det Insp Martyn Harrison, of Lincolnshire police, said: "With youngsters, a lot of the answer is experimentation. A lot of them are curious. They don't have to go very far to try to find it. When people think about drugs, they think about inner cities. We don't have any tower blocks but there is no part of Lincolnshire that doesn't have a drug problem."

The Bishop of Lincoln, the Right Rev Robert Hardy, said: "A lot of people have got a slightly idealised picture of rural life, but Lincolnshire is quite a hard, deprived and isolated place. That makes it vulnerable to this problem and drug abuse is certainly an area of concern."

The bishop has noticed the regular gatherings of young people on the hill below the cathedral on Friday and Saturday nights. "It all looks fairly normal, but I'm not stupid enough to think that it is entirely innocent."

The *Times* visited The Falstaff, a pub in the shadow of Lincoln cathedral, one Friday night. In the disco area, Jamaican rhythms pumped through the sound system. One man admitted that he'd been busted by the drug squad and a group of youths in their mid 20s smoked joints. Silver paper, often used in the abuse of drugs ranging from cannabis to cocaine and heroin, lay crumpled under the tables.

Tony Square, 58, the landlord, said: "I won't allow it in the pub if I see it. A lot of sneaky things go on. I go to the toilet and find roach ends. I put my foot down, but the trouble is we can't spot it unless we smell it.

"I caught somebody in the car park a long time ago with a syringe in his arm. That was it. He was banned for life. The only thing I have got against cannabis is that it is illegal. The police know that they smoke it in the car park."

Asked whether people had bought drugs on his premises, he said: "I would think it is quite possible that they have. I'm going to really go to town."

A wrap of "whizz", the street name for amphetamine sulphate, also known as speed, which cost £15 three years ago, is available for £10. Young people in Lincoln readily give you the address of a house where strangers call to buy cannabis.

In Louth, where the poet Tennyson was schooled, *The Times* arranged to buy LSD within minutes. After approaching a group of fresh-faced boys we asked for some tablets. The group had only Ecstasy on them, but said we could come back later for some "trips".

Crack has been seized in Skegness and Lincoln. Boston is the whizz capital of Lincolnshire. Abusers of amphetamine sulphate start by snorting, but often end up injecting, with all the risks of HIV infection from sharing needles.

Dean Riches, 26, a former drug user who dispenses advice, condoms and clean needles on behalf of South Lincolnshire health authority, said: "Whizz is everywhere now. There are girls of 14 and 15 using it in the town because they think it will help them lose weight. Speed gives you energy and takes all the realities away. It means you can play your Nintendo games for hours on end and not get tired."

Children as young as 13 are on LSD in Boston and one ten-year-old girl, a solvent abuser, has visited Mr Riches. "The cities are flooding through the villages now. We never had so much cocaine and smack round here before, but the dealers are bringing it out from Peterborough and local people are going there to buy it."

Market Rasen is said to be a "hotbed" of cannabis-smoking and the seaside resort of Mablethorpe has its own drug problem. The rural settlements of Caistor, Tetney, Holton le Clay and Binbrook in north Lincolnshire have all produced patients for their local addictions unit.

David Harding Price, a clinical nurse specialising in drug misuse, said youngsters are experimenting with valium and the depressant drug temazepam — both inexpensive ways of feeling drunk.

Nick Pyrgos, 51, sees many victims of drug abuse in his role as accident and emergency consultant for the county hospital. The "peak" ages of his patients are 15 and 16. Mr Pyrgos now believes cannabis, and possibly other drugs, should be legalised.

He said: "If you look at the resources committed by everybody in chasing those who use the softer drugs, I wonder whether it is a good investment."

1.10 Substance use in Britain - a review of current statistical evidence.

The previous section identified the way in which drug use is recognised in a rural context. It was illustrated how discourses of drug use continually spatialise drug use onto the urban arena. Where it is recognised the presence of drug use in rural areas is seen as specialised into certain categories of use. In the same discursive way drug use is seen to be centred around certain groups of the population. What is built up is an image of who drug use is associated with and for whom it is not likely to be a concern.

These stereotypes are produced and reproduced by the media and other forms of popular culture. In Britain these ideas are best illustrated through referring to media representations of drug use[36]. Irvine Welsh's "Trainspotting" (1993) exemplifies the perception of substance use as associated with 'hard drugs'. Substances such as heroin and cocaine used in an abusive manner often as a form of escapism from economic and social deprivation. The terminology used and the pictorial representations within such cultural circulation's furthers such stereotypes and this was extended in his later works in Acid House (1995)[37]. This type of image is easily identified in other representations. In February 1995 the BBC drama 'Needles' documented the life of a heroin user in Urban Britain, through focusing on the stereotypical image of a drug user, a wide proportion of the drug using population of Britain is again neglected. This socio-economic based generalisation suggests that for working class individuals the use of 'designer drugs' is beyond their means both financially and culturally. Drug use is seen as the use of hard drugs, and is generally recognised as having certain class based characteristics which are sequentially placed onto the rural environment as much as the urban[38]. Researchers such as Peck and Plant (1986), Pearson (1987), Dorn and South (1987) and Parker et al (1988) have

[36]Here I shall draw on limited examples of how this stereotype comes about as within this thesis there is not the time to refer to all the examples available.

[37] Obviously the constraints of a written piece like this do not allow a full investigation of these publications and here they are used only to illustrate their place in furthering the stereotypes of drug users.

[38]In recent years media attention has been focused on the links between hard drug use and crime, poverty and unemployment. Recent documentaries including BBC 1's Panorama further strengthen the power of the image which portrays drug use as a class based activity.

drawn attention to the link between the use of drugs like heroin and unemployment and social deprivation and simply extend the social stereotypes that already exist surrounding drug use. Even media reports tend to adhere to these stereotypes in their reporting, in 1995 The Guardian suggested that an epidemic of hard drugs was reaching the Welsh valley's as a result of the rise in unemployment (Gow 1995). What emerges is the perception that it is only the socially and economically deprived who choose to use drugs. This glosses over much of the drug using population who exist in both urban and rural areas, and fails to reflect reality. As one user stated "even respectable people use drugs to escape, people never I never imagined would get hooked" (Friend 1994).

Media and popular culture representations of drug use therefore tend to skew the image of a drug user onto particular class groups, a trend which is proliferated by the ways in which statistics from public bodies are presented. In Britain statistical evidence of drug use originates from a number of sources; from legal seizures of illicit drugs, reported users from independent organisations such as rehabilitation centres, and from survey work which deals with only a small representation of society at large. Official statistics provide a partial view of the drug use in Britain because they cannot reach or identify every user due to the illegal nature and secrecy which often surrounds use.

As one example the Home Office produce data annually on the extent of drug use in the United Kingdom. Figure 1.3 illustrates the number of notified addicts per million population by police force area in 1995. On this map an extension of the focus of drug use onto the urban arena is demonstrated. Although some rural districts do demonstrate a relatively high level of use, because the regions used are so large many of the finer details of more local patterns of use are overlooked and focus is again drawn to the urban areas.

In 1996 the Home Office reported how heroin use had increased in the previous decade from 15,086 known users in 1991 to 24,530 in 1995. In addition methadone (a heroin substitute) and cocaine followed similar patterns.

Through a focus on 'harder' drugs such as this official statistical sources limit the ways in which drug use is seen by the public, it comes laden with connotations about addiction, injection and poverty[39]. To many, drug use can mean only the use of these harder drugs, which in turn associates it with certain classes, with deprivation and with unemployment.

As class becomes a means of deciphering the social groups involved in drug use, so do age and gender. Drug use in Britain is not thought of as an activity which the young participate in, nor those who are old enough to have acquired social and financial responsibilities such as housing or families. Official data sources reflect these stereotypes. Figure 1.4 illustrates the ages of new notified addicts between 1985 and 1995. It recognises the greatest increase in use between the ages of 21-24 years. The source identifies the under 21's as an age group with an increase in the number of known new drug users, but by classifying a single group with such a large age variation (i.e. under 21 years) it neglected to identify many of the intricate details within the age group[40]. It also neglects use by the older generations completely. Definitions of addiction are also important here. What one official body terms as addiction may differ greatly from another and so groups of users may be excluded from data sources because their patterns of use, or the substances they use are not classed as problematic by official sources.

Beyond the focus on particular class and age groups being involved in the drugs scene, data sources are drawn towards particular gender stereotypes too. Drug use is seen as a predominantly male activity, in which female use usually occurs in association with male peers. Figure 1.5 illustrates age differences in conjunction with gender, here what is demonstrated is not only associated with

[39]Although some of the Home Office data sources recognise other drugs as being used, such as amphetamines, MDMA, cannabis, their focus when talking about drug addiction is on heroin, cocaine and methadone and the other substances only become important when seizures and offences are included.

[40]It must also be recognised that only those individuals who recognise their drug use as problematic will make themselves known to official bodies and will become part of official statistics. It is unlikely that those under the age of 20 will have reached this stage in their drug using careers.

those aged between 21 -29 years, but that use is predominantly associated with males too. Media representations focus on male use and images used to illustrate drug users often use only males[41].

Stereotypical images of drug users evidently pervade national statistics of drug use. Regional data sources follow a similar pattern too paying greatest attention to the groups I discuss above. In the Yorkshire research location regional data exists on drug use too. In Skipton and Craven districts where the Yorkshire work was focused, between October 1994 and March 1995, 13 and 24 new registered addicts were identified in respectively. In both districts use by those aged under 30 years dominated statistics and use was centred around the male population. Substances most commonly used were cannaboids and opiods, but for the older generations alcohol was increasingly popular[42]. At a local level the stereotypes again appear to centre use around certain portions of the population.

[41]In many of the official documents used in drug education males are used in the illustrations.
[42]Similar data was sought for the Hertfordshire region contacted the local council, the police force and drug rehabilitation centres and was told that data for such a small region was not kept in this area. All that was available was the numbers of drug users attending each clinic and the number of arrests made concerning drug use. I felt that this data would not reflect the statistics obtained from Yorkshire and that to keep a degree of continuity between the two areas it would be best to leave them out of the study.

Figure 1.3 Notified addicts per million by police force area in 1995.

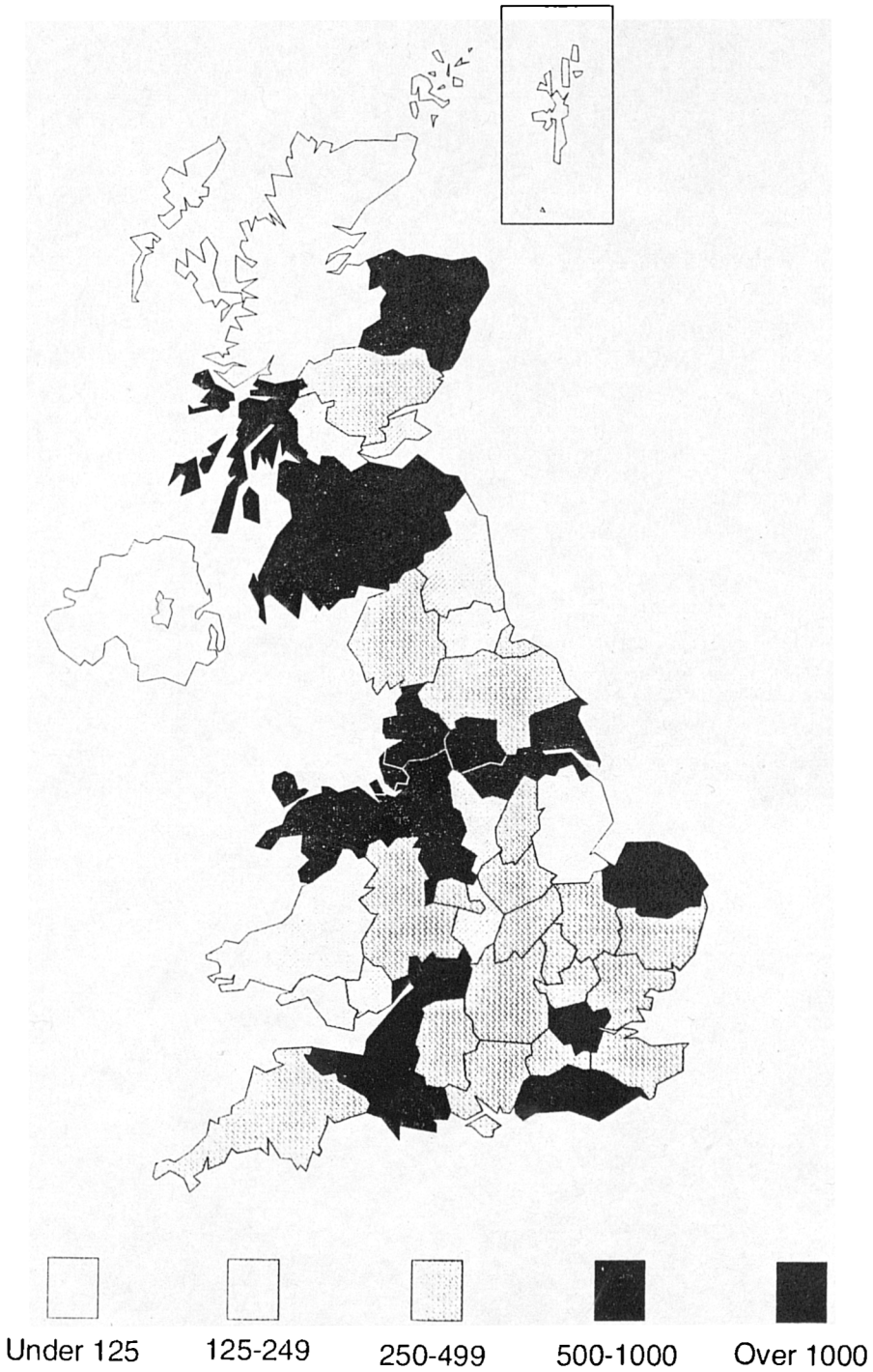


Figure 1.4 Age of new notified addicts between 1985 and 1995.

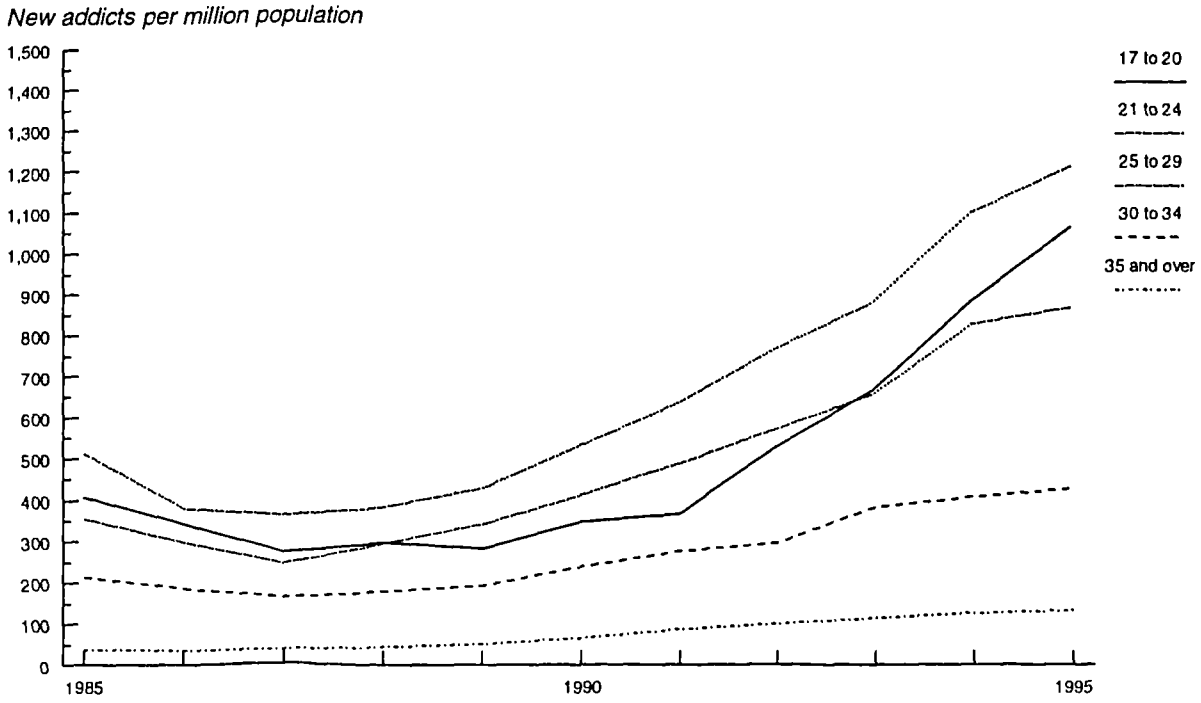
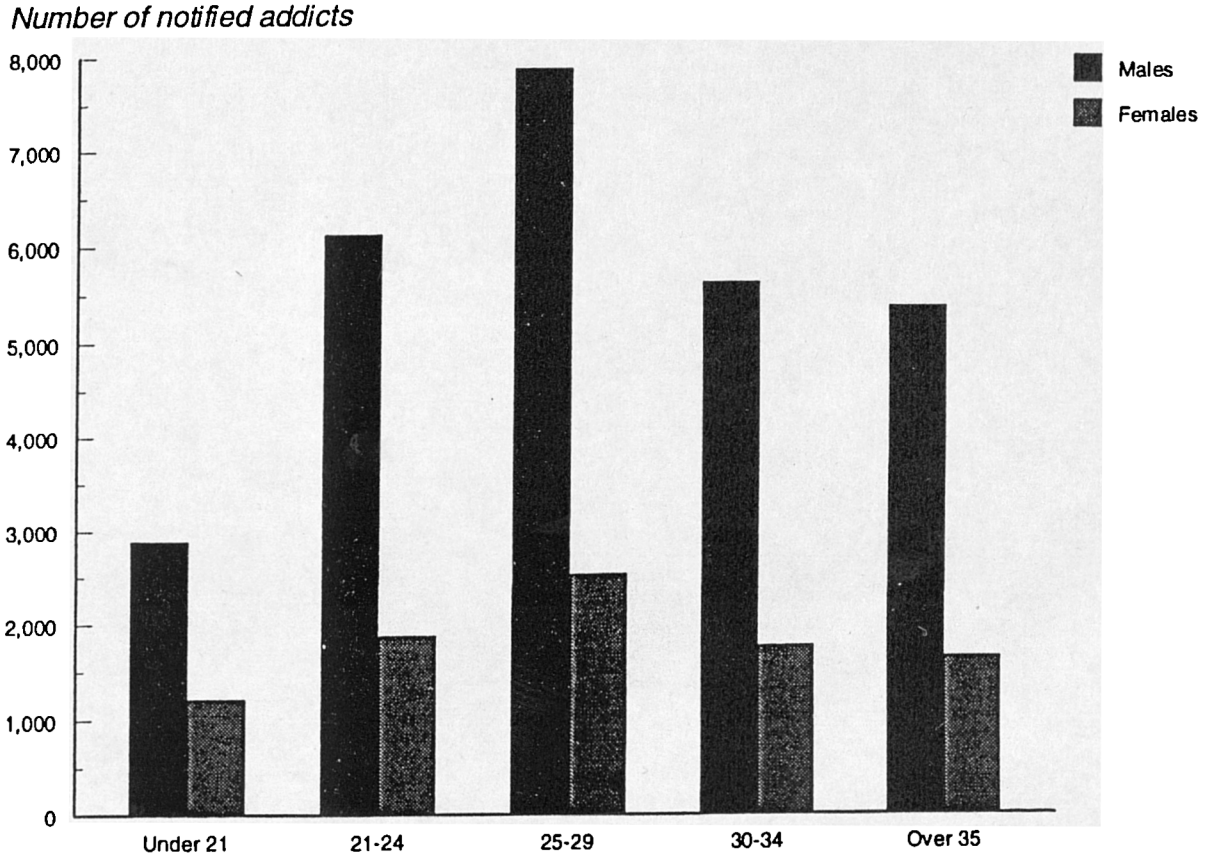


Figure 1.5 Age and gender variations of drug users.



Sources of statistical evidence are only now beginning to recognise that drug use is not purely an urban issue, nor that it is centred only around these particular groups of the population. As one example The Institute for the Study of Drug Dependence carried out a survey of drug use among youth in the Shetland Isles in 1993. The results identified that 14.39% of 13-14 year old males and 11.33% females, had tried drugs by the age of 15-16 years, this figure was 24.79% for males and 18.8% for females. Dean's work on drug use by youth in the Hebrides identified that drug use was a social facilitator, part of youth culture and was a common form of 'entertainment' (Dean 1990 p.543). Research in Somerset in 1995 identified that use of drugs began at the earliest at 12 years, increased as they got older, and that there were no considerable differences between the urban and rural areas in terms of the incidence of substances use (Andrewes 1995). Other researchers such as Balding (1994), Gilvarry et al (1995) Newcombe (1991) clarify these points arguing that drug use is reaching those younger and younger and those from a variety of social groups. Goodwin (1994) argued that middle class adults were increasingly attracted to drug use as a form of recreation too. Hughill and Taylor (1993) and Crichton (1993) both suggested in their research that rural and urban schools were equal targets for drug dealers and hence both had using populations. Certainly when it comes to alcohol there is increasing evidence that rural communities show extreme levels of use and abuse.

In recent reports attention has begun to be paid to female use of drugs too. Bennetto reported in 1993 that drugs were increasingly a lifestyle choice of many females as well as males, often connected with the use of stimulants and a desire to remain 'thin'. Further to this Parker and Measham (1993) argue consistently that gender is as important as financial and class components, in the choice making processes of drug users.

During sections 1.8 and 1.9 I have shown how drug use in rural areas is not so much hidden, but is skewed or exaggerated or in some cases is simply seen as irrelevant compared with urban use patterns. Where it has been overlooked or

where the attention has been placed on the urban arena, this has arisen out of many of the social stereotypes surrounding drug users. It is only in recent years that researchers have allowed drug use to be seen as something which the general population, young and old, male and female, rural and urban are involved with. My research follows these more recent studies and seeks to analyse the cultural intricacies of drug use in rural areas. In the following and final sections of this chapter a similar approach will be taken for the analysis of rural New Zealand and current views of both rurality and drug use will be regarded.

1.11 Rurality in New Zealand.

As the third region studied within this thesis New Zealand exhibits a number of differences in its understanding and experience of rurality which make it both an interesting and unique component of the study. New Zealand demonstrates similar cultural constructs of rurality as Britain does. Here notions of a rural idyll exist too ,and there is an idealisation of rural landscapes which exists at both a discursive and experiential level. However differences do exist between the two countries and these emerge as a result of New Zealand's colonial past and fall into three main categories. Initially New Zealand's experiences of colonialism had profound implications for the way in which it developed as a country economically, socially and culturally, and this therefore had implications for how its society came to conceptualise both rural and urban areas. Secondly, New Zealand has since colonial times been a predominantly bi-cultural nation. The Maori and Pakeha populations have in many respects lived out considerably 'different' lives within the same geographical landscape. This has obvious implications for the way in which areas are viewed by both populations and consequently the way in they are portrayed through cultural sources. Finally, New Zealand's rural areas have a stronger reliance upon agriculture than the British counterparts do. The image of rural communities based around the traditional industry of farming, as reality rather than simply an extended myth, plays a significantly larger role in how rural areas are subsequently regarded. In the following section these differences will be

discussed in greater detail illustrating how rural areas in New Zealand have come to be regarded by their population and through cultural sources, and how this plays upon ideas of a 'rural idyll'.

1.12 The rural in New Zealand.

New Zealand's total population of less than three and a half million occupies a land area of 268,000 square metres, a low density for any industrialised nation (New Zealand Statistics Department 1995). In the 1990's four fifths of its population reside in urban areas, and yet its reliance upon agriculture, forestry and fishing for economic stability remains dominant. In this respect New Zealand differs greatly from Britain where agriculture has taken a back seat to industries such as tourism in many of the rural areas. Notions of rural idealisation that exist here, based around the central feature of the family farm, the village community and rural harmony are therefore upheld more easily than in Britain. Rural idealisation in New Zealand would seem to differ from its British counterparts, but there are many similarities too, stemming from the period of colonisation where British migrants emigrated taking with them the social, cultural and economic baggage from industrialised Britain.

New Zealand was first colonised in the 18th century, but it was not until the mid 19th century that immigration occurred on a large scale. The British immigrants were attracted by the image of a country which epitomised a Britain of former years, a Britain which had yet to be tainted by the processes of industrialisation. New Zealand was advertised as a simpler, almost purer version of what Britain had been like in the past. Here the British could return to "a mythical time now selectively remembered as rural bliss" (Bell 1995 :49). Immigrants were promised a land in which they could return to a way of life that had been the grounding for British society. As Bell (1995) suggests;

> New Zealand was portrayed as a country of outstanding natural resources and fertility, with rich soil, abundant wildlife, and where every possible fruit would flourish: truly a land of milk and honey. (1995 :52)

The way in which New Zealand was promoted to the migrants was distinctly propagandist in nature. In the *Official Handbook of New Zealand. A collection of papers by experienced colonists on the colony as a whole and on several provinces* (1875), Vogel uses the natural environment as the key attraction for the migrants. It was a country which boasted "some of the most magnificent scenery in the world; a country in which the natural wonders of many parts of the globe are congregated" (1875 :14).

As migrants moved across to the other side of the world specific ideas of what they would find on arrival accompanied them on their travels. It was to be a new start in a land where notions of rural perfection were more easily sustained by reality. Ideas of the supremacy of New Zealand's natural environment over the landscape in Britain, were supplanted by the idea that with nature came purity, health and moral fibre. Natural landscapes inspired goodness and purity because they were removed from the evils of the city. And as New Zealand had an abundance of natural landscapes, the people that inhabited them were believed to have the a moral strength which set them apart from other people. As Fairburn concludes;

> nature was equated with goodness. And when applied to New Zealand, the notion implied a geographic egalitarianism. Nature's bounty could be expected to be found in every part of New Zealand. (1989 :29 in Bell 1995 :62).

On arrival the migrants were faced with a rural landscape that had yet to be tamed in the way that British rural areas had been. It was a true wilderness which was removed physically and culturally from all that had been left behind. In Western thought, environments are seen on a spectrum from wilderness (the purely wild), to the farm (a balance between nature and man), to the city (the purely civilised) (Tuan 1974 :109). In New Zealand the migrants were to tame the landscape "to a beautiful (Pakeha) Eden" (Bell 1995 :62) in which migrants could live out the Britain of past decades. It was to be a truly civilised middle landscape built on the image of the Britain of past, cultivated into a 'natural' looking scene far removed from its original form. In 1867 William Golder

published a survey on New Zealand and suggested that the countryside was something that would resemble utopia, it was the land of beauty. This process of civilisation was to extend to the indigenous Maori population too, they were seen as inferior and the land was taken from them and cultivated into the British Pakeha Eden, with them as a secondary feature of the landscape easily modified to the culture of Britain[43].

This process of transforming the landscape involved not only the physical features and the human features, but also the morals, ethics and practices that would characterise the rural landscape. Bell (1995) suggests that the process of landscape transformation had two main strands, firstly taming nature as a heroic, act and secondly nature transformed to a garden of paradise cultivated and domesticated by human effort. In both there were strong implications of a work ethic and moral wholesomeness which were added to by "Christianity, democracy, law order, white supremacy, conventional morality, conservatism....the white middle class values of Victorian England" (1995 :63). It was not only the physical landscape which was moulded by the British culture of rurality but also the people that were believed to live there, their morals and their attitudes too. In 1890, Thomas Bracker stated that the landscape had been transformed into "happy homesteads...[where] flocks and herds live in the fruitful fields...dressed in robes of peace" and this included the people that lived there, in the case of New Zealand the Maori population (In Novitz and Williams 1989).

[43] Here I recognise the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi and other treaties signed between the Pakeha and Maori populations. The Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 and in recent decades there has been much controversy about the conditions under which it was signed. In fact whilst I was in New Zealand there were many land claims being taken to court by the Maori tribes who argued that their land was taken during colonisation without informed consent. I do not have time in the context of this thesis to develop argument concerning the treaties and the relationship between the Maori and Pakeha populations but feel that it was an essential part of how rural New Zealand came to be seen by its population. I feel that I focus mostly on how the Pakeha population viewed rurality here because it was the dominant view I came across but I do recognise that the Maori attachment to and view of, nature may be very different to this.

Rurality in New Zealand became for many the epitome of purity, health and morality, a perfect place to reproduce the perfect family life. Rural New Zealand came to reflect a Britain of the past which was a stable and fulfilling place to live. As Perry (1994) suggests;

> geographically it might have been in the pacific, but structurally it was part of Britain's rural hinterland. Coming with that settlement was an assorted collection of cultural baggage.....whether New Zealand was constructed as material opportunity, as refuge, or as rural idyll, the space it occupied in the imagination of British settlers was already given by the culture from which they came..." (1994 :.46).

The pastoral myth that emerged during the colonial period was initiated from the literatures aiming to attract migrants to this new and exciting land, and was also supplanted by later developments in the tourist trade which strengthened the pervasiveness of the image. At the turn of the century a series of small booklets were published entitled 'New Zealand Tours and Excursions'. In them place promotion centred around the natural environment and used natural imagery to attract tourists. Heaton (1996) suggests that two movements, Romanticism and the Picturesque, were influential in developing how the natural landscape came to be viewed by tourists. The Romantics Heaton argues, upheld a rejection for "urban sophistication for (supposedly rural) simplicity and innocence.....[professing] a spiritual affinity for nature as purifying man's soul and as an expression of God" (Pepper 1986 :241). Nature became the antithesis of the city and took on distinctly therapeutic connotations because of this. It was a place which was devoid of that could cause ill health and was therefore a place of healing[44]. The natural environment could be a place where one was able to "banish from the mind the care of the busy world" (North and South Otago 1898 :17). Here the rural takes on board notions of therapy, a means of escaping the mental and physical ills of urban society. As North and South Otago Magazine stated in 1898, the natural environment was described as "restoring jaded city dwellers". In addition, Owaka in the Catlins is described as "..a district of quiet valleys, lovely wild native ferneries and

[44] In Chapter Two I focus on these ideas but in a British context. Here I simply recognise that similar sentiments exist in New Zealand despite the fact that it does not form a central piece of the research.

pleasant rivers. It has many interesting spots, and much to entertain those who wish to banish from the mind the care of the busy world." (North and South Otago 1898). Vegetative landscapes were particularly important to this idea of healing and health, in The New Zealand Tourist Education Series the district around Omaru is presented as paradise where the very "very sight of it will benefit tourists, from its gardens of fruit and shelter trees to its bright green pastures" (Heaton 1996 :59). The remote areas of Westland, Stewart Island and the Bay of Islands were also presented as "Nature as healer" (Southern Alps and Wets Coast Tour 1898 in Heaton 1996). Rural landscapes came to be seen as paradise, as arcadia, nature was a healer as much as a place of leisure (Heaton 1996). In the present day these sentiments continue and the idea that nature provides a landscape where one can 'get away from it all is common'.

Secondly, the Picturesque did not only refer to a genre of painting but also to a group of tourists who travelled on the 'Grand Tour', as well as to less well known places. Rural landscapes came to be seen as primitive, as places where one could be exposed to danger but in a controlled way. This contrasted strongly with the way in which the Romantics viewed the rural landscape who saw it as an arcadian landscape which could only benefit those who came into contact with it. The Picturesque view of nature still held it in high esteem but could accept that it held danger as much as pleasure[45].

In recent decades the notion of a pastoral myth, or rural arcadia has diversified into the more immediate and popular forms of expression. Perry (1994) argues that it is through New Zealand television that conceptions of the community in rural areas have been typically provided, reproduced and sustained. In many of the sources of reproduction the image that is used is one which is a "collage of British antecedents, media-specific conventions, local inflections, particular social interests and material constraints" (1994 :49). In a variety of television programs these ideas of community and idealised Britain are manufactured and reproduced. Mortimer's Patch as one example is a popular series set on a rural

[45]For many this danger was in fact a source of pleasure.

police station, here the potential for conflict and tension between communities was reduced through the use of a rural community in which to set the program, and there are many other references to the positive and close nature of the rural community.

The idea of rurality as free from social, cultural and economic disadvantage is also represented as such through a variety of other cultural sources. In North and South magazine has a monthly feature called the "where I grew up story". This uses consistent themes of idealised rural landscapes and remote and coastal scenes in which the fondest memories are often located.

In the late twentieth century tourism continues to use mythological images for economic gain. Places are advertised within a framework of history, nature and tradition so that it seems 'familiar' to those visiting. Bell (1996) argues that national pride is stimulated through this process of advertising and that the population come to regard the rural as central to their identity. It is argued by Bell, a New Zealander that the myth becomes " 'a whole new history', a handy distortion serving ideological purposes.....[which can be sold] to tourists as national identity; and half believe it ourselves" (1995 :48)[46].

In New Zealand, Heaton (1996) suggests that nature is used to attract three types of tourist, the adventure tourist, the eco-tourist and the urban refugee. For adventure tourists nature provides a means of physical exertion, a way in which man can return to the challenge of nature. For the eco-tourist nature implies a place of learning where the individual is at one with its surroundings rather than trying to tame or control it. For the urban refugees nature becomes the "antithesis of 'The City'" (1996 :80), a place which provides a "refreshing contrast to the hustle and bustle of everyday life" (Department of Conservation 1990, 1991). In all of these, individuals have the opportunity to experience the 'unspoilt' side of New Zealand and this is evident in the language used to

[46] This is particularly ironic for the indigenous Maori whose attachment to land, as I shall argue later, is not constructed out of taming the landscape but out of living in harmony with it. Here the 'idyll' may be seen to be even less relevant.

promote places. Rural areas become, ancient, untamed and pristine places away from the contrasts of the modern urban world. Places where one is immersed in nature, but also where one has the ultimate power to control. Nature is often a tamed and modified landscape rather than a 'natural' scene in the true sense of the word.

Heaton (1996) identifies pastoral environments and their human and animal components as central to place promotion in New Zealand. Animals are often used to provide town symbols or motifs, and farms have become places of entertainment and leisure as much as functional industrial sites. Te Kuiti is known as "The shearing capital of the world" and Matamata "The town that's racing ahead on Highway 27" (Heaton 1996). Farms have become places of entertainment and places to stay whilst on holiday. Te Puke and Cromwell have giant fruit at their outskirts as symbols of identity and Hastings sues local orchards in a promotional metaphor "The Fruitbowl of Hawkes Bay". In addition festivals around the locally grown produce or particular gardens attract the population to experiencing a piece of nature, of rurality (Heaton 1996). This idea of a purer and simpler pastoral life comes into use in the promotion of products, of supermarkets themselves and indeed of newly created suburban townships. It must also be noted that despite the dominance of plantation forests in the economy and social structure of rural New Zealand no place builds its image on these environments. Perhaps these images contrast too strongly with notions of an unspoilt and natural landscape that the country wishes to promote[47].

Style too has in recent decades become influenced by the popularity of rural imagery. In New Zealand the term 'colonial' has evolved into a consumer style as much as a period in history, which brings with distinct prestige and social standing. Much of the style is based around 'natural' products and styles, devoting increasing attention to the rural lifestyles and images that New

[47] It is interesting to note that Village NZ1, the research location in New Zealand was one centred around the forestry industry.

Zealand has become famous for. These ideas have extended to architecture, to shop designs both internally and externally, to cookery and many other aspects of the New Zealand lifestyle. Perry (1994) suggest it is ironic that "in a nation whose citizens are highly mobile, nomadic, consumerist, privatised and urban, images of a more stable, less instrumental, imagined rural community continue to flourish" (1994 :54).

Finally New Zealand uses its rural landscapes to promote an image of an 'unspoilt' country. An image which is nostalgic by definition and which has, as in Britain, come to form a significant part of their national identity. As Cloke and Perkins (forthcoming) conclude, the logo of New Zealand is;

> the green fern dipping in the waters of a fresh mountain stream and the colours of the unspoilt new Zealand environment. Not the grey and brown of the crowded environmentally compromised world, but the fresh green of the primal forest reaching down to the blue ocean (The New Zealand Way 1993 :1 quoted in Cloke and Perkins).

The image of rurality that is portrayed to the potential tourist, and to the New Zealanders themselves, is one of "a conflict-free image, pastoral New Zealand idealised" (1996 :71). Heaton uses examples from Alexander Pope to demonstrate these ideas and quotes him as stating that "we must therefore use some illusion to tender a Pastoral delightful; and this consists in exposing the best side only of a shepherds life, and concealing its miseries" (Pope 1717 quoted in Short 1991, p.28). Historically, as Pope suggests, what was happening was that negative aspects of rurality were being overlooked and disregarded, and the positive face of rurality was promoted. This reflects what is occurring in both rural Britain and rural New Zealand today whereby the rural landscape creates an image of a problem free environment. What emerges from this is the strength of the pastoral myth within New Zealand culture which consistently denies all that is negative.

It appears that in New Zealand the cultural and social idealisation of rural areas takes the form of a pastoral myth but uses many of the cultural trappings of the

British rural idyll too. This is unsurprising given that New Zealand developed as a colony of Britain and adopted the social and cultural conditions of British society in this process, and also the ways in which it regarded place. Pawson (1992) suggests that the themes of co-operation and competition characterise the manner of relationships between people, and between people and nature. This is no more obvious than in New Zealand where the relationship between people and nature originated from both the Pakeha and Maori cultures. The British colonisation of New Zealand brought together two peoples whose underlying cultural assumptions and practices were very different. The dichotomous way in which rurality is viewed by both populations reflects this. For the Europeans there is an emphasis on notions of a rural idyll and of a tamed and beautiful problem free landscape, and for the Maori a divisive view, split between the European ideas and a deeper cultural attachment to nature which recognises both the positive and negative aspects of the rural landscape.

As a reflection of reality this can be assessed more critically. After all as I suggested earlier, for much of the population of New Zealand rural life is something that they have detached access to, rather than direct experience. What is read about or consumed remotely may be accepted less critically, because for many rural life may seem to actually be like the image that is portrayed. This relates well to the work in Britain where an urbanised population appeared to accept uncritically images of a problem free rurality. But this image of a problem free rurality does not reflect reality. After all, no landscape is free from all that is negative. Is it simply that negative aspects of the rural environment are simply covered up or ignored or that the pastoral idyll is pervasive enough to override other faces of rurality? In the following section I shall address some of the more negative issues of rural New Zealand and shall argue that many of them are now integral facets of the rural landscape.

1.13 The other side of rural New Zealand.

Rural New Zealand as a landscape is not exempt from many of the issues that rural Britain has had to contend with in recent years. Examples of this include

poverty, social and economic deprivation and indeed drug use. Rural New Zealand is exhibiting increasing unemployment and this is intensified by the fact that what employment there is that is not concerned with agriculture is rapidly becoming economically unviable to remain in rural areas[48]. Alongside a reduction of employment opportunities comes a population who find little need or wish to remain in the rural areas and who are increasingly attracted to the urban scene. What emerges is a cycle of deprivation whereby the population leaves because there are fewer and fewer facilities and the facilities have to close because of a lack of population. Here the pastoral myth can be contested at a number of levels as the rural environment becomes less than ideal as a place of residence.

A noticeable and significant difference between rural Britain and New Zealand emerges from the dominance of the Maori population in rural areas of New Zealand. Until recently they have been a predominantly rural based indigenous group whose attachment to the land extended beyond a reliance upon agriculture to a cultural and moral attachment to nature. Pawson (1992) suggests that Maori culture was centred upon nature which provided both material and spiritual sustenance. Features of the land were woven through with spiritual meaning and the Maori creation myth explained their being was centred around Rangi (the skyfather) and Papa (the earth mother) and linked to create a holistic environmental family (Pawson 1992 :19). People did not own the land, they belonged to it. To the Maori nature was sacred (Yoon 1986, Durie 1987). These ideas have been echoed by other writers such as Philips (1987), Fairburn (1975) and Orange (1987) who all argue that the Maori culture, and hence attachment to nature ,distinguishes them considerably from the Pakeha population. In recent decades the Maori too have been migrating to the towns and cities where job and recreational facilities are thought to be greater. Their cultural attachment to the land has come to be less important when practical needs such as employment and housing have to be met. Here

[48]See Le Heron and Pawson's work on Urban and Regional Futures in 'Changing Places' (1996).

the whole cultural makeup of the rural community is changed and this occurs as the true nature of rural living becomes reality for the population there.

In addition to these, more obvious social issues the existence of problems such as drug use remain evident in rural New Zealand too. In comparison to Britain there is an unquestioned acceptance of the existence of drug use in rural areas of New Zealand stemming directly from the recognition that much of what is consumed within New Zealand is grown in its rural areas[49]. Much of the population has come to view rural areas as places of vice and evil where the drug pushers can readily grow their crops and supply them to a bored and frustrated local community[50]. The whole drug culture differs in New Zealand because it stems from the use of cannabis, a natural plant, rather than the use of more manufactured substances in a more regulated and structured social setting.

In recent years there has been an abundance of literature written on drug cultivation and consumption in both rural and urban areas of New Zealand. But it is the popularity of cannabis and the extensive patterns of home, and mass cultivation, that has placed increasing focus on the rural areas. It is not the whole of New Zealand which demonstrates intense patterns of use though, despite the fact that as a practice it occurs across the whole of rural New Zealand, but areas such as Northland, The Bay of Plenty and The Coromandel and even in parts of the remote South Island. Media reports have started to focus on this increasing drug culture in these areas. In 1996 The New Zealand Herald reported that 'Operation Jo' between 1995-6 had recovered 216,000 cannabis plants, 70,478 in Northland, 32,710 in Central North Island (which incorporates The Bay of Plenty and The Coromandel and over 8000 in the west coast of the South Island, one of the most remote areas of the country (New Zealand Herald 18th May 1996). Earlier that same year the police hailed 16

[49]See work by Crampton (1995) and Redmer (1990) which both focus attention of the production of marijuana in rural areas of New Zealand.
[50]Later the empirical work will show how many of the young people cited boredom and frustration as reasons for an involvement in the drugs scene.

tonnes of cannabis in Northland alone. But it is not simply the cultivation and consumption of cannabis that makes the New Zealand rural communities a less than ideal place in which to live, but the culture and crime that goes alongside this. McLoughlin reported in 1991 that Motueka in the South Island had two identities, that which related to its natural landscape and recreational attractions, and that which related to the deaths and crimes associated with its drug culture.

In addition to the cannabis industry and culture, rural areas in New Zealand are systematically thought to suffer from excessive amounts of alcohol consumption which brings with both health and social problems. As Paton-Simpson (1995) argues the social life in rural communities revolves around alcohol consumption, be it after a sports fixture or as the only recreational facility available, it remains a central facet of rural life. Indeed Paton-Simpson suggests that alcohol has become so ingrained in rural culture that under consumption has become a form of deviance rather than something which is to be praised. Work by The Alcohol and Public Health Research Unit in 1995 echoed these sentiments and suggested that alcohol was a part of New Zealand culture in general, but that the situation was exacerbated in rural areas because of their lack of alternative facilities and the absence of strict policing for underage drinking and drink driving[51].

It would seem from the above that despite the persistence of social and economic problems in the rural community there still remain a focus on rural areas as problem free areas within popular culture and media representations of rural life. This myth is evidently highly specific in nature, a white middle class myth being mostly applicable for the landed classes or the elite. In summary I would argue that perhaps it is a Pakeha myth, emerging from Pakeha culture stemming from the period of colonisation. I would suggest also that in contemporary New Zealand that it perhaps holds less relevance to the lives of

[51] These issues will be returned to later in the thesis when I place more attention on the young people's perceptions of drug and alcohol use in their community.

the Pakeha, as well as the Maori populations. Individuals and groups living out rural lifestyles which do not relate to this myth are systematically excluded from discourses of rurality, and their voices are never heard by those beyond the rural boundary. The bi-cultural nature of New Zealand society also means that cultural constructs emerging from one culture hold less significance for the other and vice versa.

The nature of rural idealisation and of the rural community itself therefore differs quite dramatically from that in Britain. Bell (1995) suggests that although notions of an idyll or myth are less pervasive in New Zealand that they serve particular purposes there which makes them increasingly powerful. Firstly, Bell argues that a descriptive idyll serves to distinguish between areas, here between the rural and the urban, and that that distinction creates a sense of belonging or identity for those living there (Cohen 1982). This distinction between areas can then be commodified and used for the benefit of the community in terms of place promotion. Secondly, and following on from this, Bell follows the arguments of Heaton (1996), and suggests that the idyll can serve a purpose as a myth attracting tourists to an area. Tourists are sold the most sanitised version of a place, and inequalities and problems remain hidden from public perceptions of the rural. Thirdly, the rural idyll can be seen to be important to local people on a day to day basis. The affirmation of rural values is reinforced through adherence to the values expressed in the rural idyll, and threats from the outside world, or the urban, can be eliminated or at least reduced by adhering to a perceived rural way of life.

Finally, linking the other three ideas together, the pastoral myth can be seen to be nostalgic in nature. As Baudrillard suggests;

> when the real is no longer what it used to be nostalgia assumes its full meaning. There is a proliferation of myths of origin and signs of reality; of second hand truths, objectivity and authenticity (1983 :12, 13).

Notions of a pastoral myth allow us to do just that- to return, even if only symbolically, to a purer, simpler age when the problems of contemporary

society did not exist. This rural is a place where things are as they should be, where one can get away from the problems of contemporary life, solitude can be found, and one can step back in time to an era when all was well with the world (Heaton 1996). Nostalgia too has become important in the construction of local identity, in its maintenance for both local people and outsiders and for its reconstruction in the promotion of place (Bell 1994 :231). For Davis nostalgia gives us an identifiable relationship between "change versus stability, innovation versus re-affirmation, new versus old, utopia versus golden age" (1979 :116) and helps us to deal with the uncertainty of the future. Bauman echoes these sentiments suggesting that nostalgia and utopia have become "crucial responses to the modern moral crisis" (1988 :229).

How the notions of a pastoral myth have come to persist in New Zealand culture and identity can be identified in the four themes above. This myth endures despite its detachment from the real lives of the majority of the New Zealand population, and in many ways from the reality of rural life itself. Its dominance within New Zealand culture however is coming under continual scrutiny by both rural and urban residents and indeed by both Maori and Pakeha. I would suggest that perhaps there is the emergence of an anti-idyll within many discursive representations of rural life, where there is increasingly a recognition of the shortcomings of rurality including deprivation, drug use, social and cultural marginalisation which have found relative ease in pervading rural discourses[52]. This is particularly evident with research carried out on Maori issues in rural areas where writers such as Crampton (1995), Casswell et al (1984) who suggest that inequality does not only exist in rural areas between the Maori and Pakeha populations, but was a fundamental influence in the creation of the rural landscape that we see today. I would suggest therefore that the myth, although persisting and serving distinct functions in New Zealand has limited use when compared with the English rural idyll.

[52]See work by Le Heron and Pawson (1996) and Pomeroy (1996).

In the above sections I have discussed the inability of discourses of the rural to incorporate more negative aspects of rurality in mainstream culture despite their existence. In the following and final section of this chapter how discourses of the rural drug use have come to view identify the people involved will be addressed. Here I will argue that particular social, cultural and racial stereotypes persist.

1.14 Stereotypes of drug users in rural New Zealand.

As identified in the previous section drug use is an accepted facet of rural New Zealand. Figures for the whole of New Zealand confirm this reflects use across much of the country. Reports by the Drugs Advisory Commission also argue that 43% of New Zealanders aged between 15-45 years will have tried cannabis at some point, and 12% will have used it in the last 12 months (1990), suggesting that some form of drug use is a common activity for the New Zealand population. Other studies by Black and Casswell (1991), Black and Casswell (1993), Casswell (1992), and Lungley and Baker (1990), echo these sentiments and confirm that drug use is increasingly common as a form of social behaviour by many New Zealanders. There is a broad recognition that drug use is there, and has always been there. Where a recognition like this has occurred, there has been a tendency to focus attention on certain groups of the population implying heavily that these are the groups involved in drug use, and that other sections of the population are not involved in this pattern of behaviour.

The Maori population is one such social group who it is argued are responsible for both the growth and consumption of much of the cannabis which is consumed in New Zealand. Racial stereotypes emerged in colonial times where the Maori were soon associated with excessive consumption of alcohol and tobacco[53]. In "Puffing up a storm" Broughton (1996) argues that images of Maori smoking became common among many forms of 'popular' art and he concludes that; "the picture of the kuia or koro posing with their pipe was widely published and almost became an icon of the time....these images merely

served to reinforce the idea that smoking was just a normal and accepted part of the daily lives of Maori people" (1996 : 40). These images were used to criticise and to look down on the Maori population and to create a system whereby they were regarded as the inferior racial group. Broughton argues;

> the tobacco smoking Maori was used as a means of disseminating racist attitudes and sentiments in the popular media. Picture postcards was a convenient and cheap form of denigrating Maori people (Broughton 1996 :94).

These ideas were soon extended to the smoking of cannabis and they became closely linked with the Maori population. Maori involvement in the drugs scene came to be viewed as natural and Pakeha involvement was more easily glossed over. Popular literature sources such Duff's 'Once Were Warriors' (1990) and 'What becomes of the broken hearted' (1997) do little to counter these stereotypes. These ideas are extended through to images of alcohol consumption too. It has been argued that alcohol and drunkenness was a problem as far back as the 1840's for the Maori population (Mataira year unknown, Gluckman 1974)). It was the Pakeha population who brought alcohol to New Zealand though, the Maori population originally calling it "wai piro" or stinking water and many Maori suggest it was used by the Pakeha population to intoxicate them whilst treaties such as the Treaty of Waitangi were signed (Warren and Griffeths 1989). It can also be argued that the Maori did not have the ability to consume substances in a regulated and moderate fashion.

By the late 20th century ideas such as this have extended to many popular and public policy discourses on drug use including work by the Alcohol Advisory Council and researchers for the Health Education Council. Novitz and Willmot (1989) suggest that there has been a "periodic recitation of Maori failings in official reports and the media..... [there] is the imputation that deviant behaviour is in some genetically determined" (1989 :43). Casswell (1994) discusses the use of alcohol as a form of escapism among the New Zealand population and in her examples cites statements from Maori and Pakeha as

being different, Pakeha use as a relief from boredom and Maori use as emerging from social and economic deprivation (1994 :111). This type of generalising in not uncommon and further reinforces negative stereotypes which dominate many discussion surrounding the Maori population. In Figure 1.5 an illustration of this is shown whereby postcards depict images of the Maori smoking and further stereotype the image of the Maori as a drug using population[54].

Many social class stereotypes emerge surrounding drug use too. For many of the Maori population life in New Zealand is plagued by unemployment and poverty, and although not for all, it is commonly accepted that Maori belong mainly to the lower social classes. The links between race, class and drug use become more obvious through such discursive representations and particular stereotypes about those involved in the drugs scene emerge and persist. Through ideas such as this, if the Maori are felt to be dominantly involved in the drugs scene, then it is also thought to be a predominantly lower social class issue. But the class issue extends to the Pakeha population too, work by Casswell and Gordon (1984) Wylie and Casswell (1991) further suggest that particular social groups, particular social classes are more involved in drug use.

Gender stereotypes exist surrounding drug use too. Rural New Zealand is dominated by a patriarchal system of social structuring. Females still remain in a secondary position, particularly within the Maori population where gender relations are strongly defined in this way. In 'A Man's Country - The image of the Pakeha Male', Phillips (1996) discusses broadly various ways in which New Zealand culture is strongly centred around the image of the male as the dominant sex. One particularly interesting chapter recognises how alcohol and the pub have come to be seen as male dominated cultural activities where the female has specific and distinctly inferior roles[55]. The nature of rural New

[54]There are many other examples written about the racial stereotypes surrounding drug use. Within the confines of this thesis I draw on only a limited number of examples but recognise that indeed there are many others who confirm these ideas.

[55]Although this is only one example of the literatures surrounding gender relations in New Zealand it demonstrates well how not only within the Maori community, but within the Pakeha community too gender relations are strongly defined. Other work by authors such as

Zealand as based predominately on agriculture also ensures that many of these gender relations remain unquestioned. The role of the female, particularly within the Maori population is involved with the home and family. Social activities are usually confined to special occasions and females continually juggle social lives with the responsibilities of the home and family.

With regard to alcohol males have been systematically associated with widespread consumption on a regular basis. As Phillips argues "drink was without doubt the most important and defining ritual of the male community" (1987 :36). Alcohol and smoking go hand in hand with rugby, racing and beer in the New Zealand culture and are ingrained in the male ethos of status and image. Fairweather and Campbell (1990) argue that alcohol use is the primary forum in which male status, popularity and acceptability can be negotiated. Certainly when associated with sport or business, male consumption of alcohol dominates discursive representations of alcohol use (Paton-Simpson 1995). Drug use tends to be seen in this way female use being associated with male use or when females are described as serious addicts. In many of the public studies on drug and alcohol use there is a tendency to focus attention on male use and to disregard females as involved in this type of activity. Researcher such as Black and Casswell (1993), Wylie, Millard and Zhang (1995) and Research by the New Zealand Drug foundation echo these sentiments and yet I would argue that through further emphasis being placed on researching female use, that these ideas may come to be seen as stereotypical rather than reflecting reality.

This section has sought to identify the emerging stereotypes surrounding drug use in rural New Zealand. Despite its recognition as a facet of rural areas, those believed to be involved are centred around these particular groups of the population. Such stereotypes are not as pervasive as they were in Britain for here there is less emphasis on 'hard' drug use which is characteristically associated with certain groups of the population. In New Zealand though what

Pommeroy et al MAF Forthcoming papers refers to gender relations within the farming economy.

is evident is the racial element of the stereotypes and I feel this makes them more open to critique. I feel that drug use extends beyond the use by Maori, by males, and by those socially and economically deprived and certainly recent discourses of drug use confirm this[56]. Reports by Fergusson et al (1988, 1989, 1993), Gray (1988) Connolly et al (1992) and Stacey (1981) as three examples are starting to confirm the centrality of drug use to the behaviour patterns of young people in New Zealand and in this thesis I shall focus on the young in rural areas and their use of drugs. Throughout this thesis these ideas will be deconstructed or reinforced by the empirical material I have collected. My aim is to broaden discourses of rurality and drug use for both Britain and New Zealand and to identify facets of rural life which have been systematically ignored at a discursive level.

In the following chapter I shall draw on one other association of rurality with the phenomena of drug use, that of drug rehabilitation. Here I will suggest that the rural is used as a place of healing and therapy because it is believed to be exempt from the existence of drug use.

[56] Drug use is also racialised in Britain to some degree but is not centred upon as much in this thesis.

Figure 1.5 Maori use of tobacco.

Chapter Two

Rurality as an environment of healing and therapy.

2.1 Introduction.

In Chapter One the idealisation of the rural in popular and public discourses was discussed. It was suggested that through such idealisation there is a dialectical switch of many of the problems of contemporary society onto the urban environment. And that through this, rural environments come to be seen as areas which are free from social and economic disadvantage and indeed from phenomena such as drug use. The power that pervades these myths overrides discursive representations of rural life which are able to accommodate more negative aspects of rurality. Rural areas are seen in their most pure and sanitised form.

This chapter seeks to extend the idea of rural idealisation through analysing the incorporation of notions of purity, health and therapy in discourses of the rural. Recent years has seen a resurgence of interest in the role of the rural and nature in healing and health[1]. Nature and natural products, both those in the natural environment, and hence in rural areas, and those simply emanating from nature, have come to be seen as promoting health, excluding illness and all that threatens the stability of the human body and mind. The rural as a place of healing is therefore believed to enhance not only the physical well being of its population but also the mental and moral attitudes of its inhabitants. These ideas have been extended to the use of the rural in the healing and therapy of groups of the population suffering from particular physical and mental illness including drug users.

[1]Here I recognise that nature and the rural are separate entities. I will use the rural here as a physical or spatial expression of nature, a place where nature is at its most abundant. The rural will be seen as not only a physical space where nature can be found, but also as an area which is perceived to be natural and full of natural products, both those situated in nature itself and those whose origins are natural.

In this chapter I shall draw upon these ideas, suggesting that the rural as a place of healing is not a new idea but has recently become more prominent in health care practices, particularly drug users[2]. I shall suggest that this rise to prominence is strongly associated with the manner in which rural areas are idealised as places free from social and physical ills. I shall draw on historical evidence of how the rural has been seen as a place of healing with particular reference to illnesses such as tuberculosis. In addition I shall suggest that such ideas have strong links with geographical concepts such as environmental determinism and the more recent eco-feminist strains of thought. In the final section evidence will be taken from empirical work on the location of residential rehabilitation centres for drug users in rural Britain. I shall illustrate how both nature and rurality have been systematically used for the healing and therapy of this 'social' illness. It shall be illustrated that the rural and nature play important roles in the actual rehabilitation of drug users as well as the location of rehabilitation centres, and combined, imply that certain areas are more ideal for healing and therapy than others. In addition I shall suggest that the rural environment provides a theoretical escape from environments, for example urban areas, where exposure to drugs is believed to be more prevalent.

Within this chapter I will seek to address the impact of rurality on healing and therapy of drug users in three main ways. Firstly, I shall regard rurality as curative in its own right, as a landscape and an environment which promotes and actively creates health and well being. Secondly, I shall suggest that the rural environment promotes certain types of activities and ways of doing things which in turn creates a 'work ethic' which has an impact upon both the physical and mental well being of those within that environment. Finally, I will argue that the rural environment is used as a place for healing and therapy in that it provides a landscape in which to hide away individuals who do not conform in some way to the norms of society. In this respect the hegemonic population is not threatened by such 'misfits'.

[2] It must be noted however that with a decline in psychiatric hospitals in rural areas some would argue that health care in rural areas in declining in general.

Within this chapter I will follow Gesler's (1992) use of the term 'therapeutic landscape' where he encompasses ideas of the 'new cultural geography', taking landscape to mean more than the interaction between the physical and human activities but something which has symbolic meaning beyond this (Wagner and Mikesell 1962). Landscape to Gesler embodies the multiple associations with nature, scenery, environment, places and geography itself (1992). Within such an analysis Gesler retains the older idea of natural and human made environments and their interactions as landscapes but adds in humanistic and structuralist accounts too, and I shall briefly refer to these ideas within this chapter.

This chapter therefore adds an alternative strand to the thesis which predominantly associates rural areas with the consumption of drugs. Here I will relate rural areas to ideas of non-consumption of substances, as areas which, because they are not closely associated with this type of activity, have come to be regarded as therapeutic and healing.

In the following section I shall recognise how the emergence of a geography of health has been influenced by a number of strands of geographical thought including behaviouralism and humanism. And I shall suggest that within each strand of thought, landscape has come to represent more than a physical area but a place which can directly and indirectly affect the physical and mental well being of individuals and groups in contact with it.

2.2 Geography and therapeutic landscapes. The emergence of a geography of health.

Geography, as the study of the relationship between people and place has consistently regarded place as integral to the physical and social well being of its inhabitants. Recent years however have seen increasing focus being placed on the importance of the physical environment upon a wider range of human affairs, including morality and personal and social stability. Individual and group contentment with life are seen as emerging from certain physical environments. This came to be known as environmental determinism where the implication was

that residential areas, including both the built and natural environments, influenced peoples behaviour, their contentment with life, and indeed their health. Place was no longer regarded as abstract and quantifiable but rather as unique and therefore differing in how it affected those that resided within its boundaries.

As space came to be seen as unique rather than as an indistinguishable whole, environments came to be associated with particular qualities and were assigned labels which reflected these qualities. Each particular area was thought to either promote or reduce the likelihood of the social, physical and moral well being of its inhabitants being achieved. Localities were ascribed a meaning which identified the qualities they held as spaces and which distinguished them from other spaces. As Shields (1991) argues, sites and zones associated with particular activities become characterised as being appropriate for exactly those types of activities. He suggests that in each place;

> other activities are excluded, forced into wilderness or barren spaces 'outside' of civilized realm, or they are associated with their own dichotomous spaces (Shields 1991 :60).

Places came to hold meaning which extended beyond the association with particular activities. This meaning was naturalised into the defining characteristic of the site.

This association of landscapes with particular characteristics is not a new idea. Historically landscapes were associated with certain qualities which have often developed into being the defining characteristics of that area. As identified in Chapter One, the rural and the urban have for a long time been seen in particular ways in literature, in the media and other cultural sources, and have been strongly differentiated from each other with respect to these identities. In Chapter One it was shown how the urban has often been conceptualised both historically, and to a degree in the present day, as a negative environment within which intense building systems and a lack of urban green are thought to result in an increase in physical and mental illness, or dissatisfaction among its inhabitants.

In contrast the natural environment was shown as a space which enhanced or provided "physical and mental well being" (Gesler 1993 :174). Rural landscapes were therefore assigned identities which were generally deemed as positive. In comparison to the urban environment the rural was believed to exhibit characteristics which were therapeutic, it was "the quiet, fresh air and beauty found in nature and its contrast to the stresses of urban life" which were recognised as therapeutic (Marx 1968 in Philo 1987). The rural became a place where nature was at its best, at its most abundant.

This association of nature, and hence rural areas, with notions of therapy is not based purely on myth. Thousands of plants make up the pharmacopoeia of both traditional and modern medical systems and have been used for many centuries in healing and therapy (Ayensu 1981) [3]. As Gesler suggests it is in both the pharmacopoeia of folk and professional medical systems that medicines made from leaves, herbs, roots, bark and other materials found in nature are used consistently (1992). Water as another example has been systematically used as a healing element in many societies both historically and in modern day practices and is also often a major feature of rural or country areas. Coupled, they provide an image of rurality as a place of healing. Historically, healing spas were established in many societies and used for the purification of body and soul as well as the absolution of sins. Environments rich in natural plant and animal life and surrounded by water would naturally come to be seen as places which would promote health and healing. This belief in the curative and restorative powers of water has been in play since the Greek and Roman times where it symbolized purification and absolution, and could take on mystical powers (Gesler 1992). Gesler (1992) suggests that there is a long tradition of beliefs surrounding the healing powers of the physical environment "whether this entails materials such as medicinal plants, the fresh air and pure water of the countryside, or magnificent scenery" (1992 :736). Therapeutic landscapes therefore arise when the physical and built environments, social conditions and human perceptions combine to make an

[3]Later in this chapter I shall address the issue of so called 'alternative' medicine and how it plays upon notions of rurality and nature as healing and therapeutic in order to promote itself as a healing system.

atmosphere conducive to healing (Gesler 1996). Here what is suggested is that a combination of these elements can influence a persons well-being as much as their behaviour and is therefore distinctly behavioural in its orientation. Here it is not only the physical environment which creates a place of healing, but also that the people believe in its healing properties.

The analysis of particular environments and their influence upon physical, social and mental well being, has been variously studied by both environmental psychologists and behavioural geographers. Finke first used the term medical geography in the late 18th century and continued in the Hippocratic tradition stating that human diseases, cultures and lived environments were all closely related (Barrett 1980). These studies focused on the effects of both built and natural environments on the health and behaviour of its residents. Roman Baths as one example of this, did not only use the healing properties of the water as part of the healing process, in many cases they were enclosed by "magnificent edifices" which were imperative to healing (Gesler 1993 :174). Kearns (1991) suggests that ideas such as this have been adopted by health care planners in New Zealand. He talks in detail of the location of a hospital serving the Maori in the Hokianga region of Northland, New Zealand, which provides patients with a striking view. In conjunction with the sense of place provided by the hospital location, this view is believed to be an important aspect in the health care of the patients[4]. Later in this chapter I shall discuss in more detail how these ideas have been adopted in the development of mental hospital design where the prevailing thought is that design can influence the moods of patients and their competition for space, and thus their chances of recovery or of developing mental stability. In this respect I shall follow the arguments of Sommer (1974) who suggests that the physical environment is an essential part of health and well being. He concludes that;

> There is no behaviour apart from environment... When these surroundings are cold and oppressive, people who can will avoid them. Unfortunately many people for economic, social or statutory reasons cannot avoid places

[4]The sense of place provided by a local community has been variously discussed in terms of health related issues. It has been suggested by health care officials that peoples affinity to a place is vital to their health *per se* as well as to health care during illness. This is heightened in the rural environment where such a sense of place is thought to be of greater intensity.

> that oppress them. The result may be somatic disorders, anxiety, and irritation, but the probable outcome will be numbness to ones surroundings. (1974 :19)

Behaviouralist approaches have not been the only way in which therapeutic landscapes have been regarded, many studies have been distinctly humanistic in nature too. In his work on therapeutic landscapes Gesler (1993) identifies four main themes which he recognises as crucial to the designation of areas as 'therapeutic', all of which are deeply humanistic in nature. His first example stems from the 'sense of place' and the attachment people hold for particular areas. Quoting Tuan (1974), Gesler describes "fields of care" which are provided through long and intimate experiences with places. Healing and health are thought to be promoted when individuals reside in areas with which they feel attachment to. Gesler (1993) illustrates this by discussing thoughtfully the idea of holistic health which bases care on the "interacting 'surfaces' which make up a therapeutic landscape in a specific place and time" (1993 :174). Here each environment holds particular meaning for particular individuals at particular times and can be therapeutic or not depending upon the relationship between the individuals and these criteria. For individuals with a close attachment to natural landscapes, rural areas may promote feelings of security and well being which initiate both physical and mental health.

Gesler's second use of humanistic geography to analyse therapeutic landscapes emerges from the interpretations people hold of cultural landscapes. How people understand and interpret their environments alters their perceptions about the prevailing qualities of that place. Environments can be thought of as healing to one individual and causing illness to another. Interpretation of the benefits and drawbacks of an environment is a personal process and what people come to understand about how they became ill and how they are cured stems from their own interpretation of landscape. This is not only true on a personal level but comes into play when such interpretation is more generally accepted, or when individuals do not have a direct experience of a particular area. Foucault (1965) has demonstrated one example suggesting that at particular times the prevailing intellectual discourse has influenced how, and where, mentally ill patients are

treated (Gesler 1993). With respect to the rural environment, many people perceive it as a place where health is abundant because it is removed from the pollution, both physical and mental, of the urban world where the majority of people live. Contrasted with this, the rural comes to be seen as an area from which health can be regained.

This brings us onto Gelser's third strand of humanistic thought which emerges from the symbolism which is used to identify places. Gesler argues here that "both concrete and abstract symbols, such as the flag and patriotism, the caduceus and the almost sacred status of physicians can be used to express meaning and to control environments" (1993 :175). Once areas are labeled in particular ways symbols are often used to represent them and become vital in the formation and circulation of place myths. Certain environments come to be seen as therapeutic whereas others are not, and this occurs as a result of the development and circulation of place myths. For individuals who do not have a direct attachment or experience of a place, myths and symbols can come to dominant a persons understanding of that place. In the case of rural areas what often emerges is a belief that rural areas can promote health and well being. This follows the ideas of social medicine suggesting that health is a result of social as much as physical conditions. Finally, Gesler's fourth humanistic element stems from the analysis of everyday life. Here people's own experiences of illness and health feed into their recognition of place and place quality. An area emerges associated with notions of healing and therapy or not, from the experiences that people have of that place. As one example rural areas and coastal areas are often the centres for recreation and holidays, especially for the urban population and are places where individuals seek relaxation and recuperation from the stresses of daily life. People experience these places as areas which are therapeutic to body and mind because they believe that the image portrayed reflects reality. Places then come to be identified in this way[5].

[5]In Chapter Seven I shall discuss how some of the young people did not use drugs in the rural environment feeling that it was inappropriate to do so. For them drug use was an urban past time.

Humanistic approaches to health care therefore focus on ideas such as the sense of place that people assign to particular locations, and they rely on individualism, subjectivity, creativity and the importance of experience meaning and value to sustain such images (Gesler 1992). But it is not only behavioural and humanistic elements which have infiltrated the fields of health care but structuralist approaches too. Here the meaning of health care and therapy is directly related to external causes such as hegemony and resistance, legitimization and marginalisation, the roles of ideology and language, territoriality, privatisation of health care and other factors which influence peoples perceptions of places as health promoting or not. They are all structurally bound influences, external to each individual and yet equally important to the way in which places come to be seen as therapeutic or not.

Here focus has been placed on both humanistic and structuralistic approaches to places of health and therapy, but both can be criticised for failing to be comprehensive in any significant way. Ley (1981) advocates a solution which can be applied to a variety of theoretical strands within geography. He suggests that "adequate explanations of human actions must include both fatalism of social structures and the creative spontaneity of the lifeworld" (1981 :226). Jackson (1989) terms this blend 'cultural materialism' where the approach is far more holistic than either humanistic or structuralistic are separately. One example of a place specific structure / agency interaction which works particularly well, is the deinstitutionalisation of the mentally ill in North America and Britain in the last three decades. Social structures such as the welfare state, agents such as care givers, the patients, people living in urban communities, land use planners, between them have socially constructed an urban zone of transition which has systematically ghettoized large numbers of mental patients into particular areas of the community. These zones became landscapes of fear for the outside population and zones of despair for those living there (Gesler 1992 :742).

This section of the chapter has identified how a variety of strands of geographic thought have influenced how areas are viewed, as places which instill health, or as

places which initiate physical and mental illness and disease. It would seem from the above that a combination of humanistic and structuralistic approaches to the study of therapeutic landscapes would be the most appropriate[6]. Throughout this chapter I will focus on humanist approaches to the study of therapeutic landscapes and will therefore strongly follow the work of Gesler (1992), but I will also pay attention to the external structures which play upon these ideas. In the following section I shall illustrate how ideas of rurality and nature, as therapeutic elements are not recently emerging ideas and that historically the rural as a place of natural healing has influenced the location of buildings such as hospitals used in the healing process.

2.3 The healing properties of rural landscapes.

The natural environment as a place which promotes healing and health is not a recent concept in health discourses. Even the Bible has references to man's relationship with nature as vital to his health and well being. Kay (1989) feels that God confers human dominion over nature to faithful and righteous people, and punishes transgressors with natural disasters. In the Middle Ages these ideas were transformed into the "Doctrine of signatures" whereby objects of nature which were similar to human organs could be used for cure. This was God's way of providing welfare to the earth's creatures and linked humans with nature and health (Kay 1989).

By the time of Greek and Roman medicine, the use of particular natural phenomenon was an identifiable part of the healing process. As one example Epidauros in ancient Greece was established as a site for the healing god in the 5th

[6]In addition to humanist and Behaviouralist approaches, the development of eco-feminism has also sought to incorporate ideas surrounding nature and the female race into discourses of health. With eco-feminism the links between nature and the female come into play as a way of life which rejects the domination of women by men and nature by the human race. The association of the female with nature is all around us, metaphorically, as in "Mother Earth" and is embedded within our whole language system. As Plant (1991) suggests females have been seen as closer to nature, the earth itself is given a female status and like women is the giver and supporter of life. Here the female role of nurturing and caring for the young, the elderly and the sick is extended and nature too is seen as providing a suitable environment for the promotion of physical and mental health.

century B.C. As an area it soon became concerned with health and purity and developed an international reputation for its healing properties. James G Frazer wrote in 1890 that certain characteristics of this area such as the "wild romantic ravine" and the "lofty precipitous banks" of a stream were beneficial in the healing of illness. These soon became the dominant way in which the area was defined (in Gesler 1993)[7]. In 'Airs, Waters and Places' as part of the Hippocratic corpus, it was stressed that climate, water quality and scenic environment were essential for good health, and could all be found in and around Epidauros. Vitruvius stated in this text that these places should be kept away from 'pestilence' because they were pure and encouraged physical and mental health.

By 350 BC Asclepius (the sanctuary built at Epidauros) was fully developed and had become very popular as a place of healing. The physical surroundings and the temple complex reflected aspects of Asclepius as a healing place and referred to the nature of the healing god too. Coupled they were believed to promote many aspects of personal health. There was a strong sense of place there too, "the sanctuary's isolated location, away from the stresses of life provided a sense of refuge and security" which was believed to promote health. Greek medicine blended the natural and the divine as causative agents of health and through this found particular places to be more therapeutic than others (Frede 1987, Lloyd 1979, 1987).

The use of natural objects which carried great symbolic power within them enhanced the authority of Asclepius as a place of healing (Caton 1900, Kerenyi 1960 Mier 1967). Water as one example is universally linked to healing and during the time of Greek medicine was often used in this process. At the Epidaurian sanctuary water was drunk for medicinal purposes, for purification, which had become a key ritual which every patient performed to ensure they returned to full health. Water it was believed, cleansed the body but also the soul too. In addition patients awaiting cures spent their time in rest and exercise and

[7]In this section of the chapter much of the historical evidence will be taken from Gelser's (1993) work. Other literature's on this subject were sought but after much inquiry it was found that

too. In addition patients awaiting cures spent their time in rest and exercise and enjoyed the beauty of the buildings and their natural surroundings. Health was promoted through adherence to a number of different channels, through being in a therapeutic landscape, through the purification properties of water and through the application of natural medicines to specific ailments.

As a third example of the development of therapeutic landscapes in history, Egyptian medicine can be seen to follow a similar pattern of belief surrounding the healing properties of certain landscapes. Here, there was a focus on the healing elements of the air and water as found through the Gods. Each God was assigned an element with which they became associated, and often became their defining characteristic. The God and its associated element then came to be recognised as giving certain qualities, water Gods giving life and so on[8].

Chinese mythology gives us another example of this pattern of thought. Here earth and sky, yin and yang, were thought to be at the basis of all creation and all thought; and water in the form of dew and rain formed the link between them. Greek and Roman medicine used the healing powers of water too. Roman Baths were sequentially developed and used mineral waters to heal a variety of physical and mental ailments. Here it was not only the natural waters and salts that were thought to heal but these in conjunction with the built environment in which they were situated. Although many were located in the urban environment, through being in such large and ornate buildings it was felt that people were kept apart, if not physically, then psychologically, from the ills of the urban world.

The historical use of the natural to heal and prevent illness was evidently a widely accepted phenomenon. The natural environment was contrasted with the urban landscape and was associated with distinct connotations of therapy and healing. It developed an image of an area free from that which was deemed negative or that which would cause ill health. By the mid 19th century this association of health

[8] This relates quite well to the work in Chapter One where I identified how the Maori population have strong links to nature to the point that they believe they originate from the shy and earth.

with nature and the natural had been extended to include the landscapes where nature was at its most abundant. It became increasingly common for hospitals and sanatoria to be located in rural areas where access to nature was facilitated.

In her analysis of the social history of tuberculosis Bryder (1988) thoughtfully discusses how the location of sanatoria in rural areas was used as a selling point, or means of promotion for each centre. Qualities of the natural environment were used in the healing process, in particular it was the fresh air and lack of pollution which were believed to be of benefit to those who were unwell. In the mid 19th century one specific area, the Alpine Heights, were seen to be advantageous to the cure of tuberculosis. The close proximity to nature was deemed as vital to this process whereby patients could benefit from access to a variety of aspects of the natural environment.

British sanatoria attempted to compete with their foreign counterparts by advertising the beauty of the surrounding areas in which they were located. Dartmoor sanatoria sounded more like a holiday resort in its advertising brochures in 1903 and was said to be set, "admist some of the finest mountain and moorland scenery to be found in Britain" (British Journal of Therapy 11/4 1917 72). The *Tuberculosis Yearbook* and *Sanatoria Annual* 1913-14 suggested British sites were suitable because of the climate. Merivale Sanitarium in Essex was believed to be well suited because the atmosphere was dry and bracing with an abundance of sunshine and little rain. Mundesley Sanitarium was advertised in terms of the quality of its physical attributes, here the air was 'bracing, dry, and very pure with a great deal of sunshine throughout the year', all which were deemed as aspects helpful in the elimination of tuberculosis. At Pendyffryn Hall in Wales, the sanitarium was situated at the base of mountains and within sight of the sea. It had over 100 acres of private grounds, comprising of parkland, woodland and moorland, and zig zag paths cut through pine and heather almost from the sanitarium entrance to a height of over 1000 feet. These attributes it was thought would aid in the healing and therapy of those who were ill.

Historically, the natural environment was therefore believed to cure both physical and mental illness and the location of mental hospitals followed a pattern which reflected this. Medical discourses associated particular places with particular healing properties which then dominated their identities irrespective of the strength of that healing property. As Parr and Philo suggest "space and place are duly reconfigured in a wide array of sites of meaning in which identity, therapy, 'sanity' and 'insanity' (amongst other things) intersect (1995 :212). Place became somewhere which could be distinguished from other places in terms of the healing properties it held, or more to the point the healing properties it was thought to hold. Philo (1987) suggests that "the public asylums, charitable lunatic hospitals and private madhouses - possessed intriguing associations with particular places, regions and environments" (1987 :398). Madness was a disease of the modern world and could be cured by exclusion from the society in which it was initiated. Philo (1987) illustrates this well using evidence from the historical journals which suggested that;

> There can be little doubt that of late years mental disease has become much more prevalent in this country than it formerly was, and that for many reasons this increase has taken place in far greater proportion amongst those who are ranked...as the producers.....rather than the consumers of the goods of life (Asylum Journal 1855 :194 in Philo 1987).

To the medical practitioners of the time mental illness was curable only through exclusion from the modern world and for some practitioners this required exposure to rural life and indeed to nature.

In his thesis Philo talks of the invention of the rural 'Retreat', a creation of Old William Tuke which was applied to the location of asylums[9]. It was a place which was "set apart from the bustle of a modern urban world - a world of industry, a world of commerce, a world of secular values, a world of temptation" - that the Tukes almost instinctively perceived as a source of mental disturbance (1992 :134). By immersing oneself in nature one could rid oneself of the ills of mental

[9]The Tukes are a family referred to in detail in Philo's thesis.

disturbance and that illness could be kept away from those who were well. As Philo argues;

> the well spring of this discourse was a belief that the contemporary ills of the world stemmed in large measure from humanity's increasing separation from nature.....to repair the ills of the world would require stripping away this clutter - this intermediately between people and nature- to ensure a much more immediate immersion in the plenitude of natural things and surroundings (1991 :198).

Here it was "the curative power of pure romantic nature itself, untainted by urban life or civilisation, was called into service" ([338] 1992 :134). The rural became a therapeutic landscape not only in its own right, but also through the exclusion of illness from areas of health such as the natural landscape.

Medico-moral discourses of the time stated that hospitals situated in the towns and cities did little to help those who were ill; ".....those hospitals for the insane unfortunately situated in the midst of towns and cities, and in which the modern system of moral treatment is to a great extent impractical" (Philo 1987 :405). The mentally distressed mind could only be cured by freeing it from the city and factory, and by then giving it the benefits of a more 'natural', tranquil setting .

Localities chosen by both those involved in the running of the hospitals and those who were to use them, were usually those where nature as a whole (including human beings) was seemingly at its most ordered:...where nature was attractive but domesticated. Foucault describes these as areas providing an 'immediate in which nature was mediated by morality' ([264] in Philo 1992). This moralised natural space was inevitably to be set apart from the throng of contemporary urban centres. Where man had controlled and domesticated nature it was thought to increase the mental stability of those who were ill. A structured physical environment could only provide a structured and ordered mind. . Philo suggests that certain areas were thought of as more appropriate than others and concludes that they were defined in terms of the presence or absence of certain characteristics. He identifies them as follows;

> the first concern was that the site was 'perfectly healthy' in character, providing a favorable atmosphere, good drainage and an adequate water supply. Once these characteristics were ensured the construction of the asylum could be arranged. The physical geography upon which an asylum was erected hence became a topic of considerable importance and papers dealing with the arrangements of particular institutions often devoted several paragraphs to questions of climate, soil, underlying rock type, topography, elevation, aspect and even vegetation cover. (1987 :407).

Nature was therapeutic in other ways too, for asylums "the possession of extensive grounds ..... were obviously seen as beneficial because they afforded plenty of room for patients to take long walks amid "the liberty tranquillity and fresh air" of a natural environment" (Bucknill 1860, Quoted in Philo 1987 :407). Moral management was as important to physical health as the avoidance of germs and disease, a person who was morally sound could fight infection through their faith. After all, the landscape was God's creation and was embedded with moral goodness. As Showalter argues "hill, valley, wood and garden were all intended to play a part in moral management" ([278] Philo 1992 :202). The combination of a rural work ethic and the moral management instilled in individuals who resided in rural areas, formed the second association of the rural with healing and health. These were both used during the cures of both mental and physical illness.

During this period the treatment of mentally ill patients was evidently influenced strongly by a belief that the natural environment could provide both physical and mental well being. The natural environment here was closely linked to rural areas. Nature was used in a variety of ways to heal illness, to make the individuals stronger, to improve their social and moral fibre. For many the view from a hospital was of equal importance to an individuals health as the actual location of that hospital. One asylum representative was quoted as stating that;

> if the minds of these unfortunates [the patients] are to be influenced by the cheerfulness of situation, by a commanding elevation and a healthy air, all this I believe will be gained from the position we have chosen (The New Lunatic Hospital Duke of Newcastle in Philo 1987 :408).

Philo (1992) illustrates this well using examples from the proposed Cumberland and Westermorland asylum who stated that an ideal facility would be located "where the landscape is varied and picturesque" so as to give "pleasure to the

lunatic and to awaken new emotions and create wider sympathies" which might hasten his or her cure [ref. 274 1992].

Medical and moral aspects of health were therefore joined together to provide a medico-moral discourse, which called for features such as extensive land availability, productive soil and rich natural vegetation, high elevation and varied relief to be incorporated in the design and location of health care facilities (Philo 1987 :409). The natural environment was variously called upon to promote health and well being for many people, both those suffering from physical illness as well as those bowed down by mental disturbance. Even those hospitals and asylums in urban areas drew upon notions of rurality and the natural as part of their healing process, even when they themselves were located far from nature itself. This was often achieved through decoration. Philo demonstrates this with examples from annual reports surrounding asylum location stating that those that were in towns and cities displayed pictures on the walls. He finds examples where;

> ...flowers, birds and pictures have...been abundantly scattered throughout the wards. These trifles, as they may appear on paper, have undoubtedly a genial influence on the mind and the temper of the patient: the attention may often be arrested by the sight of a picture or the song of bird, and the mind for a moment forget to prey upon itself (J.C. Bucknill in Philo 1987 :410).

Simply being in a rural environment was not enough to cure or eliminate madness. One also had to remove oneself from the ethos of controlling nature[10]. It was thought that the individual had to live in harmony with nature rather than use it only for his own benefit. Madness was therefore not regarded as a reversion to a primitive and therefore 'natural' animality. In contrast madness was reckoned to be the state of too many delusions, too much ambition and failure to derive simpler satisfactions from the immediacy of 'being' in nature. Nature became a site which was thus not so much considered a place of reversion, as a place of abstention from all the distractions of modern life. The mad person was to

[10]As I shall discuss later this was often not the case of removing oneself but of being removed by others from one environment to another.

become a 'laborer' amongst nature and gain from its immediate virtues, after all in nature it was believed that;

> the pressures of the healthiest needs, the rhythm of the days and the seasons, the calm necessity to feed and shelter oneself, [would] constrain the disorder of madmen to regular observance (Philo [258] 1992 :199).

Therefore the natural environment was not only beneficial for recreation and for being away from the polluting effects of the city, but also for the labour that the patients carried out. Hard work on the land would make the patients both physically and mentally stronger and help to rid them of physical and mental illness. Rural society was thought to instill in people a commitment to hard work and the sustaining of a morally sound community. The endorsement of a 'rural work ethic', ensured that idleness was avoided, and that patients would leave the sanitarium both physically and mentally refreshed from the toils of urban life. The ethic was grounded in physical outdoors work, in the natural environment, and was again away from the drudgery of the modern urban world which increasingly relied upon mental rather than physical work. Graduated labour was thought to strengthen both body and soul and would help in the prevention of future illness. Urban life promoted idleness which enticed ill health, and thus a period of immersion in the natural environment and rural society and social relations, would help to eliminate this.

The above has described how individuals who were ill sought health care which would separate them from the illnesses of the urban world. The rural became a place which would in its own right instill health and well being in those in contact with it, and also provide the social conditions for work which would return people to a more natural working environment where one lived in direct association with nature. In the above examples being surrounded by nature and placed in a rural environment was the choice of the individuals who were ill. It was however not as simple as this. As the third use of the rural in healing and health rural areas were ideal places in which to exclude illness from the majority of the population. This exclusion of sick individuals from those who were well was often enforced by

those who did not suffer from physical or mental illness[11]. The exclusion of illness from sites of health could be achieved through setting the places of healing away from areas of health. These sites were often away from the urban areas in the countryside and the healing powers of rural areas come to be only one of the concerns for the location of hospitals. What was also considered increasingly important was keeping illness away from the majority of the population[12].

The above illustrates how the use of the rural as a space where nature was at its most abundant was used historically in the healing process in Britain. The three uses of the rural, as a place which would encourage mental and physical health, as a place where commitment to hard work and morality would encourage health, and as place where illness could be excluded from the majority of the population, can be seen as influencing ideas about healing and health in historical Britain. Ideas such as this continued to influence the way in which medical progress occurred in the coming centuries. In the following section I shall focus on the way in natural products, both those which are natural in their original form and those using elements of the natural, and nature have become increasingly popular in the late twentieth century and how the role of the rural as a landscape of therapy has come to play a significant role in medical discourses.

2.4 The role of nature in late 20th century medicine.

In the last century the growth of modern medicine has occurred at such an intense and progressive rate that there is an ever increasing reliance upon manufactured medicinal cures for illness[13]. The natural environment and its products have remained influential but to many have been surpassed by the reliability and scientific nature of these manufactured products and machines. Manufactured medicine, as opposed to those cures based solely on natural products, has come to be conceptualised as more reliable because it is a product of science, a scientific

[11] This was especially evident with regard to the exclusion of the plague from those who did not suffer from it.

[12] This relates well to the work of Sibley (1995) and his ideas of geographies of exclusion whereby groups of the population are excluded physically and discursively.

[13] Here I take manufactured medicinal cures to mean both medicines and machinery used in health care.

invention resulting from the application of rigorous scientific methods to processes of healing. Natural products have taken a secondary role and are often used only when 'real' medicines are unavailable, or as an alternative when conventional sources fail to heal. I would argue that during this century urban areas developed as places of healing because many of the hospitals and scientific institutions were located there. The urban as the place where scientific cures were unveiled came to be seen as a place of health and healing. The rural environment became peripheral to this and although many individuals and groups still relied upon its healing properties they were seen by many as an alternative form of medicine rather than the dominant one.

In recent decades there has been a resurgence in the belief of the healing properties of nature and its associated by-products. 'Alternative medicines' have become more mainstream and have drawn the faith of those disillusioned with the power of western medicine to heal. This re-development of 'natural medicines' has occurred simultaneously with the emphasis on the natural in other aspects of British culture. Here the natural environment is lived out physically in rural areas. In the previous chapter I discussed the way in which rurality has been commodified and now plays an important role in the lifestyle aspirations of much of the British population[14]. Not only is it rural lifestyles which have become important, but also how individuals and groups systematically use aspects of nature within this. In the same respect, the rural, or nature has come to signify purity and health in terms of the products that it supplies and has become a form of medicine.

The growth of alternative medicines has occurred in conjunction with an increase in the popularity of natural products across a wide range of commercial goods. Nature has become an important selling point for beauty products, for cleaning products and even for some clothing items[15]. In addition the organic food trade

[14]By this aspiration I refer to the way in which rural lifestyles, rural products and rural areas themselves have become a choice of many individuals representing a way of life and associated social and moral codes of conduct.

[15]One has only to look at the success of shops such as The Body Shop to see how powerful the association of natural products with internal and external health and beauty is.

and associated 'natural' foodstuffs have become a fundamental lifestyle choice of many groups. Although all food products emerge from nature in one respect or another some are given a higher status through an increased association with nature, or the natural, rather than using manufactured aids to assist growth. Organic produce is the more natural version of general food products, and is therefore seen as more healthy because it does not involve the use of manufactured chemicals and relies solely on nature for the growth process. It also avoids the use of genetically engineered strains which are increasingly dominating the agricultural market. Natural products of all descriptions come embedded with notions of purity and health and by immersing oneself in a range of natural goods, health for each individual can be ensured on the outside as much as on the inside[16].

With respect to alternative medicines the association with nature has become its biggest selling point. For many an avoidance of manufactured chemicals can only ensure that health is maintained or is regained after a period of illness. Recent years has seen the development of alternative healing methods such as homeopathy, aromatherapy and herbal remedies, to name but a few. Each one draws substantially on the natural base of its products to sell itself as a commercially viable product, and as a method of healing. The principle behind these therapies lies in the central philosophy that they are less mechanistic than conventional medicine, the techniques are less fabricated, and technological and the goal of health is achieved by harmony with the elemental forces that influence life (Fulder 1996 :4). As one example Boots the chemist, advertise their own range of Herbal Medicine as;

> harnessing the powerful healing properties of plants to restore health. It is the oldest and most widely used form of medicine in the world today. (Boots Herbal Medicine Brochure).

By referring to both the power of nature, and the age of this method of healing, herbal medicine takes on board notions of authenticity and becomes somehow

[16]Food products often refer to their natural status in their titles or use it in their advertising. As one example 'Whole Earth Peanut Butter' markets itself as an organic product using only natural ingredients. It even uses a picture of the earth and nature on its label to help promote it as a 'healthy' product.

more reliable or genuine than other forms of medicine. Later in the same brochure herbal medicine is given further credibility by referring to scientific testing that has been carried out on many of its products. Here science can only confirm what is already known through nature. The leaflet suggests that "scientific research into medicinal properties of plants is now confirming many of the ancient beliefs about the medicinal properties of various plants". Even on the actual packets the association with nature is dominant, with the Herbal medicine boxes illustrating a leaf, or flower to increase its perceived power as a medicine. The healing properties of herbal medicines are given greater status through an association with or validation by conventional science.

Herbalism uses the products of plants in the healing of specific illnesses. Its fundamental philosophy argues that man is an integral part of the world and that illness occurs when some form of imbalance between man and his surroundings evolves. Naturopathy as another example is a "therapeutic system embracing a complete physianthropy employing nature's agencies, forces, processes, and products" (American Naturopathic Association cited in Fulder 1996 :245). The founding father of Naturopathy, Vincent Priessnitz, learnt from Hippocrates and advocated fresh air, applications of cold water, wholesome food, black bread, fresh vegetables, fresh milk from cows fed on mountain pastures, for the cure of most ailments. Here again a reliance upon nature and its products was evidently fundamental to the cure of most illnesses.

Throughout this section it has been identified how nature has developed further links with health and healing through the emergence of alternative medicinal products. As places where nature is at its most abundant rural areas too have come to be systematically associated with the alternative medicine system. In this chapter it has so far been illustrated how nature has come to determine the location of hospitals and other places of healing in the past, and how both historically and in contemporary medicine, natural products have played a dominant role in processes of healing and health. In the following and final section of this chapter these ideas will be developed using empirical evidence from

the British fieldwork. Here it will be illustrated how in terms of drug rehabilitation centres the role of nature and subsequently rural areas has become increasingly important in the last few years.

2.5 Drug rehabilitation and the role of the rural environment.

As part of the empirical work of this thesis I decided to look at the location of drug rehabilitation centres in both Britain and New Zealand. I sent out a letter, and an accompanying mini questionnaire which would form the basis of the inquiry. I also made sure that there was ample opportunity for the centres to intensify this contact through meeting with them if they were at all interested in this. In Britain I contacted thirty rehabilitation centres concerned with drug rehabilitation in a variety of areas, not only those in the areas I was carrying out the empirical work, but across the whole of Britain. These were selected from a detailed list obtained from The Institute for the Study of Drug Dependence in London. I had wanted to inquire as to how, if at all, nature, or other aspects of rural life and culture were used in the healing, therapy and rehabilitation of drug users. For each centre, details of my research were sent along with a short questionnaire, (see Appendix Five for a copy of this) which inquired about the location of the centre and whether nature or notions of rurality as a problem free environment played any role in this. I also obtained brochures from as many as possible in order to analyse whether the rural was used in the advertising of the centres. I was interested in whether or not there was an implication that the therapy was of a better standard because it relied upon the qualities of nature or on other aspects of rurality. Overall about thirty centres were contacted but I had a response from only twenty of them. Of those who did respond not all the responses were positive, in fact many of the centres were resentful and negative about my research. I felt that for some of the centres my questioning was seen as an attempt to get into the private gaze of the drug rehabilitation centre. They seemed to resent me asking about their methods of therapy and even about their choice of location. Of the data that was obtained some came from talking with representatives on the telephone, and others replied in written form to my questions.

In New Zealand a similar approach was used. I used my contacts at the Ministry of Youth Affairs, the Ministry of Health and various individuals involved in drug counseling and therapy. I was told by all that only three full time, residential rehabilitation centres existed in New Zealand for the care of drug users and abusers. I contacted those but did not receive any positive responses from them, for some I felt I was wasting their time and I felt sure they felt this way too. What I did find was that the majority of centres tend to be day care centres rather than full time residential ones. After many attempts to further this inquiry I had to focus attention on the British work[17].

In Britain the centres seemed to fall into four main categories: those that were run as businesses; those that were more charitable; those that were religious based and those whose focus was more 'new age' philosophies. Each type seemed to hold a different philosophy on therapy and health care and used nature of the rural in different ways. These four types of centre will form the basis for the analysis in the following section of the chapter.

Drug rehabilitation is a relatively new area of health care. It has only been in recent decades that there has been an acknowledgment of drug use as an illness which requires specific treatment, rather than as an expression of the social and moral failing of individuals. As such, recent decades have seen the incorporation of drug rehabilitation into existing centres of therapy, and the emergence of those used specifically for drug therapy. I was particularly interested in whether many centres focused on locating in rural areas, or indeed used any aspects of rurality or nature in their healing processes.

In terms of the location of the centres some were located in the centre of towns and cities but that the majority were situated on the edges of urban areas or in the

[17]I have since become aware that other places for drug rehabilitation do exist but are located within more general hospitals and are not specifically designed for drug rehabilitation and so the system differs quite substantially from that in Britain.

countryside[18]. For some that I contacted this location was the result of purely practical issues such as a property was available. For others it was a more calculated decision, here the perceived problem free nature of rural areas was drawn upon during the decision making process. There seemed to be a division between the types of centres and the reasons for their locations. Those that were run more on a business basis were less like hospitals in a visible sense[19]. Because they were not spiritually based in any other way they seemed to cite the rural location as being of greater importance to them then for many of the other centres. Here the rural environment provided that spiritual base. The natural basis of a rural location was a central reason for being located out of the towns and cities. This was in contrast to both the religious and 'new age' centres who used their spiritual basis as a selling point rather than the location in or around the countryside.

For many of the centres the rural location provided an environment which was separate or away from the drug using environments of the towns and cities. At St. Joseph's Centre in Surrey this was confirmed and representatives suggested that;

> [The rural location is important because] it takes people away from 'using' environments which are usually centered around the urban areas. (Questionnaire Oct 1996).

These ideas were reinforced by many of the other centres too. Two of the centres suggested that;

> [The rural location] helps initially to separate [the clients] from the problem areas. (Pheonix House Oct 1996).

> Being in natural surroundings is a healing aspect within itself. Also our rehabilitation centres are away from much of the drug activity based in

[18]This location idea is quite interesting in many cases there has been considerable objection to the proposed location of rehabilitation centres in rural areas. The communities have often taken particular forms of action to ensure that they are not allowed to locate in these areas. In one recent example cited in The Times a village community raised £175,000 in order to buy a property so that it was not converted into a drug rehabilitation centre. This has interesting implications for how rural communities can be brought together when some external force threatens the perceived uniformity and problem free nature of the community.

[19]This was obviously only established from those who sent brochures.

> Andover Town centre, this provides some clients with the necessary security. (The Coke Hole Trust Oct 1996).

When questioned on the importance of the rural location to their ideas of therapy many found it to be an integral component of the ethos of their institution. At Farm Place, one of the more business orientated centres located in Surrey, they were quite clear about the role that the rural played on their notions of therapy and healing. A representative stated that;

> It has a calming effect and although not essential is helpful. People really need space to be able to get their thoughts together and look at reality. Peace is essential to be able to untangle the turmoil caused by using. [we use aspects British culture] through being able to get back into contact with the basics and beauty of nature.

Here where there was no other spiritual basis for the centre, the rural location provided that sense of spirituality. Representatives from Alpha 2000, another business orientated centre suggested;

> It is the right thing at a particular stage of their development [to be in a rural area] Many will return to urban life but benefit from the lack of temptations and distractions while they are here and learn an appreciation of gardening and wildlife etc.

This emphasis on rurality as an integral aspect of the rehabilitation process was reflected in many of the advertising campaigns emerging from the centres, in particular those that were more business orientated. The language they used in the advertisements, the imagery they used to illustrate the centres and what they offered in terms of therapy, all focused to a degree on their rural location and took on board aspects of rural life which were often associated with nature within this. Many of the other centres used this type of language and promoted this aspect of their centre to sell it, or promote it to potential clients. Rural imagery was playing an important role in the advertising of these centres and was promoting it as a healthy, problem free environment in which rehabilitation could occur. At Farm Place in Surrey the brochure claimed;

> Farm Place is a 17th Century manor house in 10 acres of beautiful parkland, offering a peaceful setting for the care of people addicted to alcohol, drugs,

> both legal and illegal.....Farm Place can accommodate 27 people in a comfortable house with facilities to encourage physical well being.

Figure 2.1 shows how the centre is visibly advertised. The picture is hand drawn which adds a degree of authenticity and history to the image, perhaps making it seem more stable and genuine, better able to rehabilitate its clients than other centres.

At Broadway Lodge in Weston-Super-Mare a similar use of hand drawn imagery was used to illustrate the centre. It was perhaps felt that photographs were too clean cut and that hand drawn images were more mystical, that they made the centre look older and therefore more authentic. History here providing the stability and established forms of treatment which would help to rehabilitate those who were ill. Figure 2.2 shows the picture used to illustrate Broadway Lodge.

Figure 2.2 The picture of Farm Place Surrey used to advertise the centre.

Figure 2.3 Broadway Lodge.

There was a similar use of imagery for many of the more business orientated centres. The images they used to advertise the centres became almost iconographic in nature. The natural environment here represented history, authenticity, which further implied an escape from the urban world and the physical and mental ills it could cause. Rurality was central to the advertising of these places, it was the way they could promote their centres and their healing properties too. Rurality was to these centres a commodity which made their centre more attractive to clients and embedded it with powerful images of healing and health. For many of the other centres, those that were run more as charities, those that were religious and those whose emphasis was more on 'new age' philosophies, there was less emphasis placed on history and rurality in their advertising. Their brochures were more like leaflets and the descriptions of the services they provided focused on the treatment and facts rather than imagery location. They did not have to use the rural to attract, but only to inform, because they had other aspects which could be used to promote their centres.

For many of the business orientated centres it was not only nature that was called into play here, but also the history of an old and more stable England, one in which traditional communities lived out traditional lifestyles living in harmony with one another and the natural environment. It was almost as if through immersing oneself in rural society and culture would result in a natural return to health and happiness. In the following extracts from some of the brochures some of these ideas are illustrated. In the first from Willowdene Farm there is a focus not only on the rural location but on aspects of the rural community which are integrated into the rehabilitation program. It states that;

> Willowdene Farm is located in South Shropshire and consists of a family farm bungalow, a variety of farm buildings and 80 acres of woodland as part of a 160 acre wood. Residents arriving at this setting are integrated into the family home and work alongside the family producing timber based products as a working unit. The rural setting, the peace and quiet and the stability of a family home with all the support and responsibility which goes with this, will contribute to the feelings of safety and well being for the residents.

Whilst researching in Yorkshire I visited one of the local rehabilitation centres and carried out an interview with a representative from the centre. He told me that;

> here we are able to allow space and able to introduce people to things natural. In .....Carl Rogers in when he talks about how he sees the world, he talked about how man..humankind would return increasingly to things natural and to nature for inspiration. A lot of programmes for example the Minnesota programme which is about AA and NA, finding God, or as we perceive him, higher power, for us in a rural area it is aesthetically pleasing and I find that message easier to get across (Gisburne Park Oct 1996).

It was interesting to see how his own attitudes reflected the nature of the language used in the brochure too which referred to the natural environment and the history of the area to make it a more appealing and more suitable place for healing and therapy. The brochure states that;

> Gisburne Park incorporates full hospital facilities within a grade 1 listed building. The house originally built in 1724 and formerly the country home of Lord Ribblesdale has been extended to contain new and sophisticated medical services. The hospital is situated in 200 acres of parkland, ensuring that its patients benefit from a restful and welcoming rural environment.

For this centre the imagery used to illustrate it focused on the historical and natural aspects of the centre. In Figure 2.3 a picture of centre is illustrated which shows the large old house, the rolling hills and the extensive grounds in which it is located.

Figure 2.4 Gisburne Park Yorkshire.

This use of the natural landscape, and hence the rural, in place promotion extended beyond simply the location of each particular place to incorporate the way in which the therapy was carried out. There was further evidence of the rural and what is commonly conceptualised as rural culture, as being integrated into the system of therapy that many of the centres endorsed. The rural was initially being used in an abstract or indirect way. By simply being located in a rural environment many of the centres were implying that individuals could gain benefit from that environment. Secondly the rural was used in a more direct way in terms of using the environment as a place to work in and also to use it by referring to, and incorporating it into the therapy aspects of rural culture. This allowed a bridging of the gap between nature itself and the spatial expression of that expressed in the rural environment, the countryside and its associated culture and way of life. Here the themes discussed earlier in the chapter come back into focus. The rural becomes a place which in its own right is believed to have healing or therapeutic qualities. Secondly, the rural environment becomes a place of healing and health because of the culture that goes along with that physical environment. Here I refer specifically to the 'work ethic' I discussed earlier.

Many representatives from the centres referred to these two uses of the rural when questioned about the benefits that clients could gain from the rural landscape and its culture. These ranged from working in a farming environment, to rural craft work through to working with animals. At Rhoserchan in West Wales, the representative spokesperson referred to a direct use of the rural environment in the treatment program, stating that "our residents spend two hours each day working in our organic garden- a time for reflection and processing in a busy program". For this centre the rural environment offered activities where individuals could come into close contact with nature which it was felt would be therapeutic to the individuals who were ill. As illustrated above for the clients of Farm Place and many of the more business orientated centres the rural environment provided a more removed service to the clients. Here it was the peace and space which would help an individual to regain both physical and mental health.

For other centres the use of the rural was related to the history and culture that they felt was embedded within the rural environment. Here nostalgia for a rural past which may or may not have been real at one time, was felt to give clients stability and a sense of purpose that was needed in order to become well again. Rural landscapes were seen as more traditional and were embedded in social and moral purpose which contributed to the physical and mental health of individuals. At the Gilead Foundation in Devon there was multiple use of the rural. It was a place of peace where clients could escape from the trauma associated with urban life, a place where they could return to a simpler more fulfilling way of life through craft work and belonging to the rural community. It was a place where the nature of the environment would eventually reflect onto their own personal state of mind and being. Here the rural environment contributed to the spiritual basis that was the focus of the whole ethos of the centre. The following statement from the centre illustrates some of these ideas.

> [The rural environment provides] space for which clients can gather their thoughts, think things over, able to start to make the right decisions. [it provides] peace so as to not feel harassed so that they can feel no pressure and can relax. A lot of clients have gifting in certain areas of craft and it is very therapeutic for them to carry out craftsmanship. They feel involved and are someone when working in the British cultures and heritage's. If somewhere is idyllic all around then eventually it will appear inside. Especially when a client is weak the environment will inhibit someone when bad and encourage when good.

At Risden Farm, Devon the brochure dedicated a whole page to demonstrate how aspects of rural culture, including farming, were used in their treatment of patients. There was a strong belief in the benefits that could be gained from a direct contact with nature and animals, that these aspects would help in the therapy of patients. The brochure states that "Working with animals is good therapy". Here a direct use of the natural environment, which is central to the rural landscape, is central to the whole notion of therapy.

This chapter has identified how both nature and the rural environment have been used directly and indirectly in the rehabilitation of drug users. The rural landscape emerges as a therapeutic landscape, a place which combines particular senses of

place and individual and group beliefs about health care (Gesler 1992). For those that are ill, rural landscapes are thought to emit a strong senses of place, often because the community is, or is perceived to be close knit and homogenous. Relph argues that large and impersonal places which are 'placeless' may have negative connotations for people and smaller rural hospitals may positively contribute to well being because of the increased contact with other members of the local community.

In each of the centres with which I had contact there was a use of nature and a use of the rural landscape which differed from the others. Each centre however could be seen to fall into one of three categories whereby the rural environment, and associated natural elements were used in particular ways. It has been shown that for some centres the nature and rurality held particular strengths as commodities which could help in the promotion of the centre. Neither aspect, the rural or nature, was used in a direct way but was an essential selling point of the centre. This often seemed to reflect those centres who held little other spiritual or therapeutic elements which would stand them out from others. The other centres seemed to be either run on a more charitable basis, and were often located on the periphery of towns and cities, or were religious or new age based and therefore had unique characteristics which made them attractive to particular client groups.

It would seem that in the late twentieth century the types of centre which dominate rural areas would be those that are more centrally focused on business methodologies, and were run on a profit basis. The others, although some were located on rural areas, were either on the edge of towns or placed less emphasis on their location in a rural environment. This I would suggest has interesting implications for the way in which rural areas have come to be seen as middle class, problem free environments. Perhaps the only centres that are accepted by rural communities have come to be those that resemble hotels rather than clinics. The rural landscape is increasingly becoming a landscape of exclusion and a reversal of the historical use of the rural as a place of healing and therapy, where the urban population could be kept apart from those who were ill, can be seen. Here it is the

rural population who holds the power to exclude mentally and physically ill people from the environment[20].

The rural landscape holds importance for each of the types of centre, but for some that importance is directly related to the financial success of the centre and for others it is related more to the use of nature and rural landscapes in healing and therapy. The rural still holds particular connotations about health and health care because it is thought to be separate from the physical and mental ills of contemporary urban society and as seen in the examples, these ideas continue to pervade discourses of health care and therapy. Rural areas come to be seen not only as free from social problems such as drug use, but as places which can positively eradicate many of the symptoms and causes of physical and mental illness.

This chapter has identified a further aspect of rural idealisation and the perceived problem free nature of many rural areas. Here such idealisation extends beyond a discursive and theoretical idealisation to involve not only people's practices and attitudes in everyday life but their beliefs about, and their actual health and well being. The following Chapter identifies the third strand of this thesis, that of drug use and youth cultures and subcultures. Here the ways in which drugs have become an integral component of youth cultural groupings will be discussed.

[20]This reflects the nature of rural communities which are seen as increasingly middle class, white, homogeneous environments. These middle classes holding the power to exclude both physically and discursively 'others' from these categories.

Chapter three.

Youth cultures and subcultures

3.1 Introduction.

In Chapter One the existence of drug use in rural areas of Britain and New Zealand was identified. It was shown how rural areas have been systematically regarded as problem free, and how in reality many of the problems of contemporary urban culture are experienced in the rural environment too. Drug use was shown as an integral facet of rural society both in Britain and New Zealand. In this chapter the link between drug use and aspects of the wider culture will be analysed. In doing this I shall regard drug use as extending beyond the boundaries of the sub-cultural realm to be incorporated into mainstream cultures of young people in the rural areas I studied. Drug use I shall suggest, has become a lifestyle choice rather than a subculture in its own right. In such an analysis I shall regard the spatial patterns of subcultures and cultures of young people, and will suggest that in an increasingly globalised world, space has a limited effect upon the distribution of cultural groups. Through this I shall open up the realm of analysis for the following chapters, in which the British experiences of rural drug use will be regarded more closely with the New Zealand evidence[1].

Throughout this chapter I will argue that drug use is a cultural phenomenon, a distinct characteristic of the cultural lives of many individuals and an integral part of many societies. Indeed, particular cultures have arisen and developed out of the use of drugs. This chapter will define and analyse the nature of cultures and subcultures *per se* and focus in particular on those cultures and subcultures which are based around young people and their drug use in the late 20th century. Within this analysis I shall draw substantially upon the work of cultural geographers and will use a time structured framework to analyse the ways in which subcultures have been studied during this

[1]The New Zealand experience of youth cultures and subcultures will not be dealt with in the same detail as the British experience. This is because in New Zealand little research has been carried out on youth cultures, indeed cultural analysis has paid little attention to the study of young people in any manner. What I aim to do here is lay down the Anglo-American theoretical work on youth cultures and subcultures and give evidence for the British experience of drug using youth groups. In the following chapters this evidence will be used as a structure from which to compare and contrast with the New Zealand work.

century. I shall draw upon the work of Maffesoli (1987, 1988. 1989) who suggests that in our postmodern society, groups of individuals are forming what he terms 'neo-tribes' in the search for self-identification in an increasingly fractured and divided society. I will suggest that in our increasingly globalised world as cultures are becoming increasingly universal, these neo-tribes form and establish to a degree, some kind of identity separate to the established culture. In this case the drug using culture or neo-tribe, provides a form of identity and self representation for both individuals and groups within mainstream society. In the following section cultures and subcultures will be defined identifying the standpoint from which this chapter will be written.

3.2 Culture in the twentieth century.

Culture is conceptually an ambiguous term classified as either 'low culture' as a way of life, or as a "form of consciousness" (Collins Concise Dictionary), a standard of excellence and intellect, more commonly associated with the arts and more 'classical' forms of culture and thereby recognised as 'high culture'. With respect to drug use culture becomes defined as part of a 'way of being' or a way of life chosen by individuals. Culture in this respect can become defined as;

> the peculiar and distinctive 'way of life' of a group or class, the meanings, values and ideas embodied in institutions, in social relations, in systems of beliefs, in mores and customs, in the uses of objects and material life. Culture is the distinctive shapes in which this material and social organisation of life expresses itself. (Hall and Jefferson 1975 :10).

For the purposes of this thesis it is important to assert that cultures carry with them distinct 'maps of meaning' which make the components of each culture intelligible to its members. Hall and Jefferson suggest that these maps of meaning are not simply ideological, but are objectified in the patterns of social organisation and relationships by which each individual becomes a 'social individual' (1975 :11). Culture becomes the manner in which the social relations of each group are structured and involves the way in which those structures are experienced, understood and interpreted by those involved with it.

Individuals are part of many cultural groups, those they are born into and those that are part of their social, educational and occupational lives. The cultures that they belong to may, or may not be part of the dominant culture or may be in resistance or opposition to

it, being more 'subcultural' in nature. Cultures, and indeed subcultures therefore permit and encourage the development of each social individual, yet they also limit, modify and constrain how groups live and reproduce their social existence. What emerges is that;

> men and women are thus formed, and form themselves through society, culture and history [cultures and subcultures therefore become] a pre-constituted 'field of possibilities' which groups take up, transform and develop. Each group makes something of its starting conditions and through this making, this practice, culture is reproduced and transmitted (Hall and Jefferson 1975 :11).

Culture is therefore not simply a given structure, but is something which is reconstituted by the individuals involved with it. In addition it is not something which is independent of the past. Marx (1951 :225) suggests that "men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please, they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered given and transmitted from the past". Cultures therefore embody group life but always under conditions which are constituted historically.

The involvement in one culture does not exclude the participation in others. Many individuals are members of a variety of cultural groups and divide their time and identity between them. Cultural boundaries are therefore interlinked, individuals often sharing material and historical conditions, and to some extent share each others 'cultures' (Hall and Jefferson 1975 :11). Cultural interlinkings do not however ensure cultural equality between cultures. As with most phenomenon there are dominant and subordinate cultural groups, ranked hierarchically, often standing in opposition to one another. Certain cultures possess the power to dominate, and thus become the hegemonic cultural system. Marx and Engels (1970 :64) argue that control over material production is usually aligned with control over the means of 'mental production', those in control "rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas .....thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch" (1970 :64). The dominant culture presents itself as the only culture, and its cultural practices become naturalised as the 'appropriate' way of life. Gramsci (1973) suggests that ruling social groups exert social authority over subordinated classes by shaping consent to their authority, such that the ideals of the dominant social fractions appear as common sense. Cultural power therefore presents itself along class or hierarchically defined social fractions.

The hegemonic culture is enriched with a 'cultural power' which perpetuates the authority (be it a real or perceived authority), it holds over more subordinate cultures in each society (Hall and Jefferson 1975 :12). The mere existence of these more subordinate cultures, which are both within and adjacent to the hegemonic culture, purports that the dominant culture is not homogeneous, "hegemony is conceptualised as having a 'moving equilibrium' and class fractions have to shift their alliances to sustain it" (Brake 1985 :5). What emerges is a struggle over "cultural space" (Brake 1985 :5)

In all aspects of culture where there is a dominant form, there can also be seen to be many subordinate forms, which take on board parts of the dominant culture and contain their own cultural identity too. As Shurmer-Smith and Hannam (1994) argue although the late twentieth century is dominated by globalisation and global forms of culture, localism still persists and warrens from within the hegemonic structures. For many societies global culture dominates everyday life. We are exposed to, and often accept uncritically the hegemonic cultural forms which are presented to us But within this, each and every group has a set of individual characteristics which distinguish and separate it from the hegemonic culture. In a world dominated by cultural homogeneity, it is easy to forget that 'others' exist for whom this culture is inapplicable or irrelevant. As one example, for many women, where the dominant culture is formed under a system of patriarchy, there will be much that is inapplicable or which warrants resistance. Many women form their own cultural identity using some aspects of the dominant culture and other aspects they create which are separate from it (Shurmer-Smith and Hannam 1994).

For Jackson and Penrose (1993) race is another area where the idea of cultural homogeneity can be contested. They suggest that the British nation continues to invest in the illusion of "cultural homogeneity" despite the fact that we are now quite simply a multi-cultural society[2] . The dominant culture may still exist and be portrayed as the cultural norm, but individuals and groups within that exert their own identity separate to it, or may simply exist with a dual cultural identity. The dominant culture may seem less

[2] Work by Spooner and Agyeman (1997) suggest that in British rural areas ethnic groups are ignored or excluded from social and cultural practices. In addition this idea of hegemonic and counter hegemonic cultures is applicable to New Zealand where the Pakeha and Maori populations fall into these categories respectively. Here what is presented as the dominant culture (certainly with how places such as the rural are represented) evolves from the culture of the dominant culture, i.e. the Pakeha population.

'natural' to these other social groups and so alternative or subordinate cultures emerge which are often more subcultural in nature

What is seen to exist is a dominant or hegemonic culture, portrayed as the cultural norm and within this, other cultural groups, or subcultures emerge providing a cultural identity for those for whom the dominant culture holds little relevance. As structures they may offer resistance or alternatives, but these ideas will always be negotiated within the cultural context evolving from the dominant culture, and therefore in many cases the dominant class (Brake 1985)[3]. Subordinate groups or sub-cultures exist as "smaller, more localised and differentiated structures, within one or other of the larger cultural networks" (Hall and Jefferson 1975 :13). The subordinate cultures emerging are not always in open conflict with the dominant culture, often simply "warrening it from within" (Thompson 1965). Subcultures therefore consist of some form of organised and recognised set of values, behaviour and actions which differs in some respect from the prevailing set of norms (Brake 1985). In the following section the ways in which subcultures have been defined and analysed since the late 1940's will be discussed, laying down the ways in which I wish to regard drug use within the remaining parts of this thesis.

3.3 The study of subcultures in the mid and late twentieth century.

Subcultures have been variously defined and analysed in the past forty years but they are not a recently emerging phenomenon. Weeks (1981) suggests that in the late 19th century homosexuals formed a distinct subculture providing ways for homosexuals to meet one another. During this period other groups were also subcultural in nature, Pearson (1983) discusses the existence of a group called the Victorian Boys, and Stallybrass and White (1986) suggest the carnival of the early twentieth century had a subcultural identity. In both these cases the subculture was spatially as well as socially defined, existing in particular locations as well as demonstrating particular cultural characteristics.

The early work on subcultural groups emerged from the Chicago School of Sociology in the early 1900's where the subject under study was not so definitively regarded as a

[3] Here the dominant culture refers to the cultural identity of the majority of the population and the dominant class is often also the primary constituent of this cultural group.

subculture, but was an alternative group existing within mainstream society. Gordon (1947) identified within this stream of thought that a subculture was a;

> sub-division of national culture, composed of a combination of factorable social situations such as class status, ethnic background, regional and rural or urban residence, and religious affiliation, but forming in their combination a functioning unity which has an integrated impact on the participating individual. (1947 in Gelder and Thornton 1997 :41).

What distinguished the subculture from the dominant culture was any combination of these differences, but that the differences had to result in some form of unity being felt among the members of that subculture. For Milton and others in his academic peer group, such subcultures could interlink with others, and individuals could be members of a number of different groups.

Under the same theoretical structure Cohen (1955) suggested that subcultures emerged and were sustained as an ongoing effort to solve communal problems. These problems he defined as being specific to each individual, being created out of the actor's 'frame of reference' and the 'situation' he confronts (in Gelder and Thornton 1997 :45). The success of the solution depended upon it not contradicting with an individuals own identity within the peer group. For Cohen subcultural groups emerged when more than one individual experienced the same or similar problems. From here 'exploratory gestures' were made in the search for a common solution which resulted from mutual exploration (Cohen 1947). This solution was likely to be a response which gave a shared frame of reference between the individuals, and formed the new subculture.

The 1970's saw the emergence of work by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham. Their analysis of subcultures focused on youth subcultures and the relations between ideological dimensions and the forms of these subcultures. They located the cultures in relation to the broader cultural structure, the working class or parent culture, the dominant culture and mass culture. Here the focus was predominantly Marxist and suggested strongly that subcultures were always working class in nature. In this section I shall focus on the work of three groups of individuals who have carried out research under the demise of the Birmingham school, firstly Phil Cohen, secondly John Clarke, Stuart Hall, Tony Jefferson and Brian Roberts, and finally

Dick Hebdige, each one illustrating how subcultures came to be viewed during the 1970's.

Cohen's work suggested the working class subculture was a result of the disillusionment that was felt after the postwar urban redevelopment had been implemented. His focus on the East End of London suggested that the emergence of high rise blocks destroyed the function of the street, the local shop and pub as 'articulations of communal space' (1972, in Gelder and Thornton 1997 :91). What resulted was units of housing standing in isolation from each other eliminating any sense of community that was felt between constituent members. The second effect of redevelopment Cohen suggested was the dispersal of the family unit through the changing housing developments. No longer could family and kin be relied upon for high levels of support because they were often separated geographically. These structural changes argued Cohen, destabilised the working class population and led to generational conflict within the class. Subcultures then emerged from the parent culture as an expression of this discontentment and Cohen cites groups such as the Mods, Parkas, Crombies as examples of this. Each subculture transformed aspects of the parent culture and formed their own independent identity from it. For Cohen the subculture was created by a dominated culture and was therefore reactionary and often deviant in nature contradicting many of the cultural norms of the parent culture. Here the subculture was spatially defined as well as socially defined and emerged in particular locations because of particular issues faced by the individuals there.

For Clarke, Hall, Jefferson and Roberts (1975) this focus on youth and on the working classes was extended and developed to analyse the ways in which the working class youth subculture was both related to the parent culture of the working classes, and to the dominant cultural class. This 'double articulation' formed the focus of their research, and searched for an explanation of why youth had become disillusioned with the social and economic conditions emerging from the dominant culture. The key aspects of this type of analysis was a concentration on negotiation, resistance, struggle. The subcultures were again reactionary and often conceptualised as deviant, attempting to 'win space' for themselves separate from the dominant groups. This was increasingly important for working class youth who sought resistance both in terms of their age and in terms of their class. Clarke et al (1975) distinguished broadly between structures (the set of socially organised positions of the class in relation to the major institutions), cultures

(socially organised responses to basic material and social conditions) and biographies (career paths of particular individuals through these structures and cultures), in their analysis of working class youth subcultures, and sought to explain the most overt and spectacular of youth cultures with respect to these categories.

For Hebdige (1979) the subculture was a spectacular expression of discontentment felt by the working classes and which manifested itself in particular styles and images. The subculture created this for itself out of the dominant culture and became adjacent or separate to it. For Hebdige this style was often created out of 'forbidden styles' and characteristics of the dominant culture and therefore posed a threat to its perceived stability and uniformed nature.

In the 1970's under the structure of the Birmingham School, the term subculture was therefore used to define class based groups who were conceptualised as coherent, reactionary and internally bound groups differing from the hegemonic culture in their styles, beliefs, morals and attitudes. Subcultural activity was deemed as reactionary and oppositional, often perceived as a form of deviance. Yinger (1960) classed these oppositional subcultures as 'contracultures', and distinguished them from other subcultural groups who he felt were distinct but non-conflictual. During this period the term counterculture was adopted to describe the middle class equivalent of the subculture whose difference lay in the position they held in relation to the dominant culture. They were less reactionary and less oppositional and tended to lie more closely to the dominant culture.

The 1970's view of cultural groups was therefore based around a rigid classification of strongly bounded groups whose members were joined symbolically by their similarities in taste, attitude, morals etc. They were often spatially joined too, emerging in particular areas because of a need to physically belong as well as symbolically through adhering to the styles and attitudes of the subculture.

The Birmingham School were evidently quite specific in their views of what constituted a subculture, their emphasis on style, on ritual, and on resistance against the parent and dominant culture, ensured that much of their work focused on class based differences. This was not their only focus though, and the work of McRobbie and Garber (1975) and

Hebdige (1979) illustrates this, where attention was placed on gender and ethnicity too. The class based nature of subcultural theory and their simplistic view of dominant, sub and counter cultures gave rise to distinct critiques by the early 1980's. It became more widely accepted that individuals were not bound only to one cultural frame, but could, and did, move between cultures in the various social constellations in their lives. During the 1980's there was much criticism of the Birmingham School's tradition of studying the spectacular subculture, paying greatest attention to those groups who were reactionary or directly and overtly oppositional, and its lack of attention on the purpose and function of what the subculture actually did. The 1980's saw a divergence away from this type of research and a greater focus being placed on subcultures which did not appear so spectacular, but which were lived out from within the dominant culture in a less obtrusive way.

Stanley Cohen (1980) developed the critiques of subcultural studies in the 1980's and placed greater attention on its relation to ordinary life, suggesting that they were concerned less with relations to broader structures such as class and capitalism and more with getting by in everyday life (Gelder 1997). Cohen saw subcultures as one response among many to the conditions being faced by individuals rather than the only way. He argued that structure, culture and biography were used inadequately by the Birmingham School. With respect to culture Cohen cited the work of Phil Cohen (1972), Corrigan (1979) and Willis (1977), who all placed attention on the subculture as resistance to change and thus focused on the historical element of culture. Cohen argued that although history evidently played a crucial role in the formation of many subcultural groups it was not the sole reason and many did not emerge as reactionary or oppositional in this way. Secondly, with regard to style Cohen suggests that it has been systematically viewed as a form of resistance which is symbolic and results in the winning of cultural space. The problems Cohen finds with this analysis are two-fold, firstly, style has only been viewed as a form of resistance, rather than something that can be supportive, and secondly, that style is not necessarily something which is wholly internal to the group. Finally, with regard to biography Cohen argues that the way in which the subculture is lived out on a day to day basis is often far less overt than the Birmingham School suggested it was. There are consistent examples of mundane delinquency which do not conform to the ideals of the 'delinquent subculture' so avidly researched under the Birmingham tradition.

Other studies in the 1980's drew attention away from resistance to conventionality within the subculture, and focused on the transferability of the subculture from one place to another. In comparison to the CCC's tradition of a short lived subculture, Stratton (1985) saw longer lasting examples of subcultures in the surfers and bikies living out the 'American Dream' in a non-resistant way (Gelder 1997). Simon Friths's (1980) work on the music culture suggested that music styles could either be 'anti-establishment' or 'formalist' and in which it was more closely aligned to, determined the subcultures capacity to 'resist', as the Birmingham School had suggested they did. McRobbie (1994) suggests that critiques of the emphasis on class developed in four main areas, these were race state and nation, sexuality and representation, education and ethnography and more recently postcoloniality and postmodernism (McRobbie 1994 :181). What was emphasised here was a rejection of the youth and social class couplet that had underpinned much of the development of 'subcultural theory in the 1970's. Work by McRobbie herself (1989a, 1989b, 1991, 1994) and Thornton (1995) also contested the ideas of resistance. For McRobbie, subcultural style extended to the processes of buying and selling especially when concerned with alternative markets such as the second hand stalls, and was not located in resisting the dominant culture in an overt way (1989a). Thornton takes the critique of resistance a step further suggesting that through the recently emerging club cultures young people can create their own 'subcultural capital' which can distinguish them from the dominant culture whilst they lie contentedly within it for the majority of the time[4]. Her work is progressive drawing upon the accumulation of this subcultural capital as a means of expressing 'hippness' and states that this in itself is more important than any direct form of resistance.

The 1980's were therefore characterised by a diversion away from the work of the Birmingham School and saw greater attention being placed on subcultural groups which were less deviant and reactionary and more concerned with day to day living under the confines of the dominant culture, only diverging away periodically to assert some form of independent identity. Class had become less important too, although had not been disregarded by all subcultural analysts, and other dimensions were recognised as

[4] In this respect as I shall address later the subcultural group becomes less place specific and as individuals move in and out of cultural groupings irrespective of their geographical location because the culture is universal.

important to the structure of cultural groupings, gender and ethnicity as examples of this. Subcultures remained as tools for the orientation and identity of individuals but were increasingly differentiated from previous definitions of subcultures. They were now being defined as heterogeneous lifestyles which coexisted simultaneously with other cultural groups. They were part of a wider whole but were also distinct from it. The definition of a subculture became increasing cloudy. Gelder (1997) suggests there was a;

> return to sociology and an agreement about the importance of grounding subcultural analysis in the empirical world, valuing localised specific studies....the notion of subcultural resistance is rejected or considerably diluted.....[and they now see] subcultural activity as much more dependent upon and cooperative with commerce and convention. (1997 :148).

By the 1990's the definition of subcultures has been variously debated. It would seem from the critiques of the 1980's that the term is now mostly used to define specific lifestyle patterns shared by a number of individuals in a process of semi- attachment. They become;

> primarily symbolic patterns to which people may more of less completely relate their individual lifestyle [to] (Fornas 1994 :111).

Here the term subculture is less tightly defined and focuses increasingly on groups which are joined symbolically rather than geographically. An individuals identity becomes less defined by place of residence or by geographical location and more by the ways in which they as individuals perceive themselves and those around them. It becomes an identity which holds meaning at a mental level as much as much as at a spatial one.

Within this thesis I follow Fornas's and Bolins (1995) definition of subculture as a lifestyle form which individuals follow at certain points in their life course, rather than a class based group in which the members feel commitment and solidarity towards the group above individual interests. Subcultural groups appear to be less tightly defined and less oppositional or reactionary, but continue to assert identity which sets them apart from the dominant culture. Here we can draw on the work of Maffesoli (1987) who suggests that the modernist focus on class as a means of defining and explaining everyday life should be reduced. Class and other abstract categories are simply one experiential axis for daily life, and in the postmodern world class, as a component of identity, is seen as less important than other categories. For Maffesoli (1987) the

postmodern world, has increased the need for stability and community within the global population. Here he cites the emergence of 'neotribes' as an example of how the lost community is recreated forming a sense of identity and belonging for those involved within it. The neotribe acts in a similar way to the subculture forming a community which an individual chooses to belong to rather than one which they are necessarily born into (Shields 1992 :14). Individuals have a choice of moving between these groups and altering that which they identify with most. Like lifestyles, or some forms of subcultures, Maffesoli's neotribes are characterised by "fluidity, occasional gatherings and dispersal" (Maffesoli 1996 :76) and provide an interesting way in which to study the subculture of the late twentieth century[5].

Although each lifestyle group, subculture, or indeed neotribe appears in the late twentieth century to be less structured, a degree of commitment is still required by each member of the group. This often takes the form of accepted forms of language, behaviour and attitude which distinguish the members of the group from others. In the following section the ways in which that identity is asserted will be discussed illustrating how certain styles and objects are transformed within the subculture to create new meaning and identity for individuals.

3.4 Style and identity - expressions of belonging.

In the above definition of the term, subcultures become lifestyles exhibiting a distinctive set of values, use of material artifacts, and territorial space which differentiate them from the dominant culture, yet which also emerge from within it (Hall and Jefferson 1975). Subcultural groups often follow this pattern of mediation and negotiation both alongside the dominant culture and within its own subcultural boundary. The participation in a particular lifestyle also requires adherence to a set of cultural norms, attitudes, beliefs, values and behaviour, by which each lifestyle can distinguish itself from others. Together these shape and bind a lifestyle group into something which holds many of the characteristics of the dominant cultural form, but yet which is also distinct from it. One way in which cultures are distinguishable from each other is through their 'style'. Cohen (1965) argues that style is an important reference point for cultures, illustrating a degree of commitment and membership to the lifestyle by an individual. He suggests that;

[5]This idea of neotribes will be returned to later in this chapter when I discuss in more detail the emergence of particular youth cultures and subcultures.

> an actor learns that the behaviour signifying membership in a particular role includes the kinds of clothes he wears, his posture, his gait, his likes and dislikes, what he talks about and the opinion he expresses. (1965 :1).

Style, at a subcultural or lifestyle level, acts as a form of argot, whereby artifacts and objects are drawn out of the dominant culture and are transformed into a new rhetoric for the individual and the group. This reflects their relationship with the dominant culture and subcultural groupings, and the meaning it holds for them as individuals. Clarke (1976b) suggests objects and artifacts which often originally hold little meaning are transformed and subverted into objects with other meanings and uses. The 'bricolage' he talks of (from the work of Levi-Strauss) represents the reassemblage of older styles into this new style which recreates group identity and belonging in the lifestyle group.

The subculture's style consists of image, demeanor and argot. The subculture makes particular use of them using them to distinguish itself from other cultural groups (Brake1985). In this way commodities become cultural signs which have a social use and therefore a cultural meaning embedded within them. This meaning has usually already been invested in by the dominant culture and therefore appears fixed and natural. Hall and Jefferson (1975) argue that objects and commodities do not mean only one thing, but are perceived as such because they have been arranged, according to social use, into cultural codes of meaning, which assign fixed meaning to them (1976 :55). Subcultures re-signify many of the meanings assigned to these objects and styles, and create new and alternative uses for them so that they may be distinguished from the dominant culture. One example of this emerges from the work of McRobbie (1989a) who discusses the increasing popularity of the second hand market in the development of style for some of the youth subcultures of the late 20th century. Here the style and fashion of the older generation is given new meaning through being worn by and employed as a form of style or representation of image for a new emerging youth market.

Hebdige's work on style follows these main arguments suggesting that even the average person chooses to uphold a particular style and image, and this image "fits a corresponding set of socially prescribed roles and options" which separate him out from others (1979, in Gelder and Thornton 1997 :134). What distinguishes the average man from the subculture member is their *use* of style, for within the subculture visual

ensembles are more obviously fabricated and display their own codes of conduct. It therefore becomes "the way in which commodities are used in subculture which marks that subculture off from more orthodox cultural formations" (Hebdige in Gelder and Thornton 1997 :135).

Hebdige then identified three main ways in which style was used, first as a form of intentional communication, secondly as homology and thirdly as a signifying practice. As a form of intentional communication Hebdige turned to the work of Clarke (1975) who suggested that within the subculture prominent forms of discourse (particularly fashion) are radically adapted, subverted and extended by the subcultural bricoleur to form particular identity and meaning. He states that;

> together object and meaning constitute a sign...such signs are assembled, repeatedly into characteristic forms of discourse...the bricoleur re-locates the significant object in a different position within that discourse [and it is then] that a new discourse is constituted, [and] a different message conveyed. (Clarke 1975 in Gelder and Thornton 1997 :137).

Willis's adaptation of Levis-Strauss's term 'homology' suggested that subcultures were in fact highly ordered structures internally allowing a sense of meaning to be made between parts of that subculture. Hebdige used this example to illustrate how style was used as a form of homology. Willis referred to the hippy culture and argued that it was "the homology between an alternative value system, hallucinogenic drugs and acid rock which made the hippy culture cohere as a 'whole way of life'. Appropriated objects reassembled in the distinctive subcultural ensembles were "made to reflect, express and resonate....aspects of group life" (Clarke, Hall, Jefferson and Roberts 1975). The objects used were homologous with the focal concerns of the subculture creating a collective self-image.

Finally style became integral to the identity of the subculture as a form of signifying practice. Here style becomes a way in which a subculture can distinguish itself from the dominant culture, but also from other subcultures. Here Brake (1985) gives us another perspective on style. Using analysis in linguistic theory to compare it with the use of style and fashion, he regards Saussure's (1960) work on semiology - the science of signs- he suggests that although language is the most important form of semiology, gesture, music and images are also transformed with particular meaning. Cultural groups pick up,

transform and reproduce their ideology through these 'signs' which distinguish them from other groups. For Barthes (1972) language is used in a mythical way whereby groups produce meanings which are rendered universal for that society, subcultural groups transform language meaning to accommodate their own specific cultural ideals. The subcultural use of language and fashion becomes a rhetorical use of more formalised styles which are often hegemonic in nature. Brake (1985) concludes this by stating that style becomes more than the representation of membership of a group, and can be interpreted as what it means both subjectively for the actor, and objectively about his or her relationship to his or her world (1985 :13).

Subcultures as lifestyle forms, therefore contain elements which both bind them to, and distinguish them from the dominant culture. These are usually style related but can also take the form of language or attitude. Many style based subcultural groups emerge from within the confines of the dominant culture and are subsets of that culture, but are not truly subcultural in nature. They become more lifestyle forms or choices than actual subcultures. Many of these lifestyle groups are centred around particular age groups of the population. As one example young people systematically use style, language and attitude to distinguish them from both the dominant culture and the parent culture. In the following section I shall identify the nature and form of some of the most dominant youth subcultures and lifestyle groups which have emerged from British cultural analysis. Within this I shall identify how research has tended to focus on both working class and deviant youth groups as expressions of this, neglecting the presence of other cultural groupings and therefore how many of them are seen as urban based groups. I shall suggest that in the late twentieth century youth cultures have become increasingly important in the search for identity by young people and that within this they have become almost 'neo-tribal' in nature creating a sense of identity and belonging in an increasingly global and postmodern world (Maffesoli 1987).

3.5 Youth cultures, subcultures and lifestyles.

Youth as a category is used to describe individuals caught between the worlds of childhood and adulthood The age ranges of those it involves is quite varied and depends upon the country and culture from which the young people emerge. Youth is more than a social category dependent solely on age for membership though as Redhead (1993) suggests "it is a psychological category of people who are at a moment of change; a gap

exists between two discourses, that of irresponsible subservient childhood, and of initiative taking adulthood" (Redhead 1993 :52). It is during this period that unconventional ideas may be foregrounded, often seen to be confusing the established categories and offending the symbolic order which the parental group has structured during childhood. This occurs as the young person starts to question more openly the world that has been mediated to them via their parents until this time. For many children "the received world is experienced as the only world" (Brake 1985 :16) and once childhood is outgrown it becomes easier to question that which has until that time been accepted as reality. During the period between childhood and adulthood the individual is exposed to a plethora of different attitudes, cultures and experiences which both widen their perspective on life, and have the potential to initiate dissatisfaction with their present situation. Many young people during this time, move away, even if only symbolically, from their parents and the culture they have been brought up in and exposed to. Here the 'young person' can create an identity for themselves, one which usually emerges from the ideas and attitudes of their parents but is also distinct and separate from it.

Youth cultures and subcultures emerge as separate to the adult population and their culture. Young people seek a cultural identity of their own, which reflects their attitudes and beliefs and distinguishes them from the older generation. Youth cultures and their lifestyles offer certain "symbolic elements which can be used to build an identity outside the restraints of class and education" (Brake 1985 :189). Brake argues youth need space in order to explore this identity which is separate from the roles and expectations imposed by family, work and school. For him;

> youth culture[s] offer a collective identity, a reference group from which youth can develop an individual identity. It provides cognitive material from which to develop an alternative script, kept secret from, and in rebellion with, adult authority (1985 1:95).

For young people there is often conflict between generations, between upholding what the parental generation adhere to and with creating and maintaining an identity of their own. As the social and economic conditions of society change this conflict is often exacerbated. Youth are often more readily exposed to the changes and what they offer in terms of the future, and can be more adaptable to accept that change as positive, or as an opportunity. But young people can also be more willing to react against the change if

it contradicts their beliefs. The conflict between generations becomes exaggerated during periods of social change and can initiate the emergence of particular subcultural groupings which focus on their specific needs and ambitions. Youth is a period of individuality, experimentation and expression of freedom, and young people can gain a degree of financial and social independence from their parents at this time using it in order to buy into an identity of their own.

Youth cultures and subcultures are therefore distinguished from the dominant population in terms of the age of its members and the 'solutions' that they offer youth. Youth groups, such as particular subcultures, have been viewed in particular ways during the twentieth century, they have been consistently regarded as reactionary, as working class, as deviant, as male, and as offering a collective solution to many of the problems experienced by the individuals fitting into these categories. Youth as a term was first employed to describe a particular section of the population in the post war period in Britain, but had initially emerged in the late 1920's from the Chicago School in America. Here youth was used as a label to describe those individuals who suffered from the economic and social deprivation in the city, and who were generally deviant in nature (Hebdige 1983). By its mere existence as a term there was the premise that what mattered here was age and generation, that youth itself had become a class and thus was classless in the true meaning of the word (Hall and Jefferson 1975 :15) Coleman (1961 :3) argues these factors coupled together provided the stimulus for a distinct youth class in which its members were;

> cut off from the rest of society, forced inwards towards his own age group. With his fellows he comes to constitute a small society, one that has its most important interactions within itself, and maintains only a few threads of connections with the outside adult society.

In America 'youth' as a term took on board distinctly deviant tones. As Hebdige (1983) argues "youth [became] the boys, the wild boys, the male working class adolescent out for blood and giggles - youth-as-trouble, youth-in-trouble" (in Thornton and Gelder 1997, 400). In this respect youth subcultures, as working class and as reactionary were often thought to be centred around urban populations where many of the problems were faced by young people. Here they became a visible expression of the discontentment felt.

Particular deviant youth cultures and subcultures had existed before this though. As Pearson (1983) discusses, groups of rowdy youth were termed 'hooligans' as early as 1898. The hooligans here were the young people previously known as 'street arabs', 'ruffians' and 'roughs' who broke away from the conventional or dominant cultural norms (1983 in Gelder and Thornton 1997 :282). The hooligans were subcultural in that their style and attitude differentiated them from other youth groups and from the mainstream culture. Here the subculture was urban based and was centred around one particular group of individuals. As another example, in Birmingham corner boys and street gangs were known as 'Peaky Blinders' and wore a uniform of bell-bottomed trousers, neck scarf, heavy belt, peaked cap and short cropped hair (Pearson 1983). Again they were urban, reactionary and a place specific group of young people, who could be differentiated from the general population with respect to their style attitude and behaviour.

Hebdige (1983) uses the example of Henry Mayhew's 'Coster Boys' as an example of a delinquent youth subculture. Here the boys could be distinguished by their style of dress - beaver skin hats, long jackets with moleskin collars, vivid pattern waistcoats, flared trousers, boots decorated with hand-stitched heart and flower motifs, a red 'kingsman' kerchief knotted at the throat (1983, in Gelder and Thornton 1997 :397). The Coster boys had their own argot, some of the words from which have become part of the cockney rhyming slang of the present day. In all the above examples the subcultural groupings attracted particular individuals. They were not universal groups and place came to be an important factor in the likelihood of an individuals participation or not in particular cultural groupings. Space affected the uptake of cultures here.

In the post war period youth in Britain came to the surface as a group with financial and social independence from the parental generation. Increasing affluence allowed another face of youth to emerge, that of youth as fun and youth in their leisure time. The term 'teenager' was adopted from America and came to describe individuals who were separate from both adulthood and childhood. Hall and Jefferson (1976) suggest that youth as a distinct section of the population was not only the result of increasing affluence but the convergence of a number of other factors too including 1) the arrival of mass culture, 2) the experiences of war and its impact on youth behaviour (the

emergence of the delinquent youth), 3) the education for all policy (increased the age span of youth) and 4) the emergence of distinctive styles in music and dress.

Leisure became increasingly important to youth. An identity separate from the parental generation could be asserted, and it created a way in which youth could further reject being fixed socially. Young people irrespective of class could refuse the responsibilities and identities of the work world, choosing instead to invest their time, attention and money in leisure. Self esteem and pride could be derived from leisure rather than from employment (Thornton 1997 :206). Youth were able to enjoy what is usually only available for the bourgeoisie, a "taste of liberty" from the social and financial constraints of everyday life (Bourdieu 1984 :55).

Since the end of the second world war a distinctive 'teenage market' has developed initiated by, and centering around the 'economic indiscipline' available to youth. Money is free to be spent on clothes, music, drink and drugs which form the 'nexus of adolescent gregariousness outside the home' (Abrams 1959 :1). Teenage culture has evolved as a "contradictory mixture of the authentic and the manufactured - an area of self expression for the young and lush grazing ground for the commercial providers" (Hall and Jefferson 1975).

Leisure therefore formed a focus of many youth cultures and subcultures. It became a time when they could develop away from the constraints of home life and the education system. Leisure time became a time of fun, that fun often taking a form outside conventional norms of adult recreation. It was often deviant and reactionary and as Hebdige (1983a) suggests trouble was fun, and fun was trouble.

Youth subcultures from the 1960's through to the 1980's focused attention on those associated with deviant behaviour, whether that deviancy was leisure associated or directly oppositional to the dominant culture[6] The deviant behaviour was often seen as a reaction to the occupational, educational and economic changes at that time, as experienced by young people in terms of their age and class (Brake 1985). Because they were deviant and reactionary, subcultures were often seen as working class too. The

[6]Here I refer to the original definition of subculture as a tightly bounded group with distinct similarities which draw them together as opposed to my use of the term lifestyle group.

subculture provided a collective means of expressing dissatisfaction with society, a "meaningful attempt to solve the problems faced by a group or by isolated individuals" (Young 1973).

The subculture in this respect offered a number of things to youth;

1) A 'solution' to structural problems which are experienced collectively.

2) A culture from which style, values, ideologies and lifestyle can be used to achieve identity outside that which is given by school, home or work.

3) An alternative social reality is created, perhaps transmitted through mass media.

4) Offer a meaningful way of life through leisure.

5) Offer individual solutions to certain existential dilemmas (Brake 1985 :24).

The youth subculture in the post war period was therefore identified in a number of ways, it was generally thought of in terms of the working classes, as deviant and as offering a form of collective solution to those experiencing problems with the social and economic conditions of society. Subcultural ideologies became a means by which youth could imagine their own and other social groups, assert their distinctive character and affirm that they were not anonymous members of an undifferentiated mass (Thornton 1997 :200).

In the 1970's and early 1980's these youth subcultures were accepted in the form of tightly bounded groups such as the Mods, Rockers, Teddies and Hippies[7]. They were truly subcultural in that they appealed to certain portions of the population and involved distinct forms of behaviour, attitudes and style. As deviant groups, these sections of the population could be placed in Matza's (1961) categories of youth cultural groups as either delinquent groups, radical groups or bohemian groups. These fell into the category of delinquent youth

The Mods emerged in the 1960's and came to be seen as part of the lumpen proletariat seeking a retrieval of the socially cohesive elements lost in the parent culture (Cohen 1972). The Mod culture was seen as an "attempt to realise, but in an imaginary relation, the conditions of existence of the socially mobile white-collar worker" (Cohen 1972, in Gelder and Thornton 1997 :95). The argot and ritual forms of the Mods stressed many

[7] Here I refer only to the Mods, Rockers, Teddies and Hippies and yet recognise that other subcultural groups also exist.

of the traditional values of the parent culture, for example their dress and music reflected the hedonistic image of the affluent consumer. The Mods were caught between two worlds and deviated from the norms expected by the parent culture. They were often a place specific culture because they were generally working class in nature, and the working classes tended, as other class groups did, to congregate together. They were also generally an urban subculture forming in the inner cities and being at their most visible there too.

The Rockers could be contrasted in a number of ways. They were far more reactionary and far more deviant. Riots in the early 1960's in which the Rockers were a major part were testimony to this. Again the subculture was place specific and urban based.

Teddy boys had more in line with the Rockers than with the Mods. They were seen by many social theorists as a symptom of proletarian rebellion, "a piece of defiant flag flying" (Fyvel 1963). Their style of dress was overt and dramatic and they were unwilling to be excluded from society and what they deemed as its pleasures. They had an "itch to assert themselves against society" (Fyvel 1963).

The subcultures discussed above were reactionary, deviant and involved predominantly the working classes. Because of this they were coherent, often urban or at least place specific, and did not involve the majority of young people. They were feared by the hegemonic groups in society because they threatened the social and moral order. There was a tendency amongst researchers in the early post war period to focus attention on the more 'spectacular subcultures', those that were visible both in terms of their dress and style and attitude and with respect to their behavioural patterns. Youth subcultures came to represent a collective solution to problems faced by the working classes, they were built on repression and tended to take attention away from other youth groups that may have existed but were less oppositional.

In the late 20th century research into youth cultures and subcultures has acknowledged the previous focus on the more spectacular subculture, and has diversified to incorporate a wider number of cultural groups[8]. Youth cultures and subcultures are not always as

[8] There still remains much research which centres around spectacular subcultures such as the punks, the ravers, but there is also an increasing emphasis on more general cultural groupings among young

defined or structured as the early studies suggested. They are not always deviant and they are certainly not always centred on the working classes[9]. Hebdige (1983) suggests there are three main problems with how youth cultures have been viewed. Firstly he argues that youth only becomes visible, or present in research when its presence is problematic. Discursively this happens when young people;

> make their presence felt by going out of bounds, by dressing strangely, by resisting through rituals, by breaking bottles, windows, heads, by confounding surveillance, by confronting the police, by issuing challenges, by striking .....bizarre poses (Hebdige 1983 :404).

When youth pose a threat they become a popular focus for political and academic attention. Secondly, Hebdige argues that the micropolitics that youth engage in have been redefined by the changing power relations between groups of the population. Here he suggests that new forms of social and sexual being have resulted in new configurations of power and resistance, no longer are subcultural groups only formed out of a resisting lower class, many social groups now form oppositions but in different and less overt ways. Thirdly, Hebdige suggests that where youth are concerned the politics of youth culture is also a politics of gesture, symbol, and metaphor, the subcultural response to this being always essentially ambiguous. Young people take pleasure in being watched and Hebdige concludes that the subculture is then;

> neither simply an affirmation or refusal, neither simply resistance against symbolic order nor straightforward conformity with the parent culture. It is both a declaration of independence, of Otherness, of alien intent, a refusal of anonymity, of subordinate status. It is an insubordination (1983 :404).

The subculture becomes more loosely defined in this way and become more like a lifestyle group than the tightly bound and defined subculture as defined in previous decades. Young people adopt particular aspects of social groups and often create their own identity out of them. They are frequently more stylistically based as in the case of the second hand clothing market, than the more politically based oppositional or reactionary cultures previously focused on. In many of the youth cultural groups of the late 20th century, there is less instrumental goal-directed behaviour and Maffesoli's

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people. New research includes work on ethnicity (Gilroy 1987, Willis 1993), sexuality and ethnicity (Fuller 1982, Ghaill 1989, Mirza 1992) and sexuality (McRobbie 1991, Hewitt 1986) to name but a few.

[9] In addition much of the work on subcultures has focused attention on male membership to these groups ignoring the possibility that many females too are involved. The work of McRobbie and her contemporaries has attempted to alter this

'neotribes' again appear relevant. Here the individual, in this case youth, is both a fully paid up member of the mass, the parent culture, and yet also belongs to more specific 'crystalised neotribes' which have the existential rewards of allowing members to just 'be together' with some degree of internal coherence (Maffesoli 1996 :99, 127). The subcultural form becomes more fluid and less structured and as a result does not concern only those that are spectacular or overtly visible. As Langman suggests "the 'youth culture', as we call it, is more of an ideology, theme, or style than a clearly designated group [which exists in particular places]" (In McKay 1996 :7)[10]. Young people use their cultural groupings in order to create their own space through drugs, music or style.

Examples of these contemporary lifestyle groups can be seen throughout British academic work. Marsh, Rosser and Harre's (1978) work on football cultures / subcultures is one such example. Although it focuses on the use of space within the terraces by different types of football fan, it shows us an example of how young people create their own identity out of other cultural groupings. The football fan is usually a place specific cultural group, tied to area from which the team originates. Fans are usually local to that area too and the subculture of football fans is conclusively not a universal phenomenon[11]. Within the terraces as within the local region the football fan is located in particular areas too.

Black youth subcultures are another example. Here the subculture is formed around reggae and Afro-Caribbean music styles. This originated from the USA but as Hebdige (1983) argues British youth soon began to break free from that dependency and created their own style, image and culture. The music of Bob Marley and the politics of the Afro-Caribbean culture combined to create a subculture which expressed the feelings of alienation, and of discontentment and the need to re-find the lost culture as felt by many coloured young people. Here the culture was not place specific except that groups of disenchanted black youth, often living in urban areas clustered together and formed their own subcultural grouping (Gilroy 1987).

[10]Although here I focus on the lifestyle group as being independent of place I shall assess through the empirical work whether place plays any role in the development and maintenance of particular cultural groupings of young people in rural communities of Britain and New Zealand.

[11] It must be noted that although football fans are not specifically youth based many of the groups that Marsh Rosser and Harre (1978) studied were youth based groups. And it often emerges that groups of young people in the vicinity of one football team create and maintain their own culture which revolves around the supporting of the team but has other wider and more meaningful characteristics which distinguish this group of young people from others.

Other subcultural groups of young people include the music based cultural groups such as Indie, based around music and club / dance related activities. Although initially centred around middle class youth it soon diversified and came to appeal to a wider audience. This subculture was not a place centred one and was universal in that it appealed to young people across a wide geographical area (Fonarow 1995). Here it is the gig which differentiates the young people from others who may enjoy similar forms of music and it is where expected forms of communication between members of the subculture are heard. Similar types of expression occur in other music based subcultures including punk. What differs here is a greater emphasis on individuals adherence to many more aspects of that culture.

What emerges as important from these examples is how subcultural groups have come to need specific places less in order that they function as coherent groups. The evolved cultural groupings are more fluid, where the young people can, and do move in and out of a variety of different cultural styles intermittently. The subculture can be created and maintained without the need for constant association between members. There are many examples of these more lifestyle based subcultures among young people in the late twentieth century. They include lifestyles such as music based groups following particular styles of music like Jungle, Rave, Reggae (Fonarow 1995). They include fashion oriented groups (McRobbie 1991, 1994) and also the following of particular cult TV programs (Jenkins1992), of attitudes and language which are 'youth' orientated in a more general sense rather than being centred around particular small subcultural groups. Their fluidity, and the fact that young people are able to be part of these groups whilst also fully participating in the parent culture, has ensured that they have become less place specific, less centred around certain geographical areas and more universal in whom they are attracting.

The reasons behind these changes are varied. Firstly, as the process of globalisation reaches across to many aspects of contemporary life, spatial boundaries become less significant and cultures are able to cross geographical boundaries. Secondly, the contemporary world is dominated by a reliance upon the media, media networks and telecommunications. These too have reduced the differences held between areas, no longer are groups isolated from other areas of influence, from other ideas and from other cultures, and again cultural groupings can become a more universal phenomenon. It can

be seen through regarding many of the cultures of the late twentieth century that within many of them there is a reliance upon the media for the transmission of components of the culture.

One example is cited by the work of Jenkins (1992) who argues that although Star Trek fans do not occupy the same social spaces for the majority of the time they hold many distinct characteristics of a subculture including language, knowledge of the series, associated books and films. And although they may never meet in real life apart from at conventions they know each other and belong with one another because of their mutual interests and their adherence to this culture. Bassett's (1995) work on virtual cultures takes this idea one step further and suggests that through the system of computers virtual subcultures have been created and sustained by a number of different groups. Although these individuals may never meet in real life they come to know and respect one another through written descriptions and textual repartee. The computer allows them to make friends, flirt and dance, explore 'perverse' alter-egos and live out on-line identities which like many subcultural identities contradict with that of the dominant culture (Thornton 1997).

The above examples, although not specifically youth oriented subcultures, have shown how in the late twentieth century subcultures are increasingly less fixed spatially or socially and come to attract a wide audience across a variety of geographical areas. Subcultures become less fixed, more fluid and more universal. This universality has come to be seen as one of the most significant features of youth cultures, they have come to represent the way that culture is now dominating social processes in the late 20th century (Jameson 1984). Young people are at the heart of this, and because of this, they tell us much about the scale and dynamics of social change itself. Youth subcultures are highly charged symbolically and so energetic in their output of cultural forms, that they often come to represent or stand for a particular historical moment and its generation (McRobbie 1994). This is no more true than in the case of the 'rave generation' of the late 1980's and early 1990's. In the late twentieth century it is no longer the deviant reactionary youth who pursues the drugs subculture, but a wider and more differentiated sector of the youth population. There is not a singular experience of the 'rave scene' but many. In the following section I shall address the emergence and increasing

popularity in recent decades of drug oriented cultural groupings and through this I shall suggest that they have become less subcultural and more mainstream in nature.

3.6 Youth lifestyles and drug use.

As identified in Chapter One drug use has been a facet of rural and urban society for many centuries, yet has only been recently represented discursively as a rural phenomenon. But it is only in the past century that drugs have been constructed as a form of deviant behaviour. The illegal nature of most substances and the lifestyles which have become strongly linked with the drug culture, have further strengthened this affiliation with deviance. Drug using cultures cannot however be seen in isolation from the surrounding culture. Even as a form of deviant behaviour it is not a social practice which stands separate to all else with which the individual is concerned. As Young (1971) concludes "an item of behaviour cannot be understood in isolation from its social milieu: Man is the only animal that gives meaning to his actions and it is his system of values that provides these meanings" (In Gelder and Thornton 1997 :71). Subcultures, be they concerned with drug use or not, do not exist in a vacuum, they are a product of or a reaction to social forces in the world outside and must be regarded as so.

Drug using cultures generally emerge adjacent to the normal patterns of work and home life, generally occurring during the period of leisure. It is not often that they dominate the whole structure of an individuals life. Leisure is the institutionalised period provided by society when subterranean values are allowed to emerge and take precedence, and so drug use will often emerge as part of this process.

Drug using cultures first attracted media attention in the early 1960's when bohemian lifestyles came to the forefront of public and media fascination[12]. But it was in the early 20th century that drugs were initially recognised as an integral facet of many cultural groups. The jazz subculture incorporated drugs within it, allowing the musicians to become more creative and musical whilst 'under the influence' of these substances.

[12]Drugs however had been widely associated with the Jazz musicians in the United States from the late 19th century when they became part of the new medical system as well as a form of pleasure. By the 1940's and 1950's drugs developed into the mainstream of many music scenes including jazz, rock and roll and was later associated with the Mods and Punks too.

In the 1960's however, the bohemian was termed as the middle class equivalent of the working class subculture, which had been studied in depth up until that point. During the 1960's radicalism and bohemiansim developed into unique subcultural groups, and drug use was a fundamental aspect of these lifestyles.[13]. Researchers during this period had mixed feelings on the role and purpose of drug use by these groups. For Davis (1967) drug use was an extension of middle class values, such as individualism, symbolising an attack on normal forms of consciousness, and a disregard for normal society and its values. Brake (1985) argues the use of LSD during this period was a 'negotiated' version of the basic values of self exploration and self-improvement found in middle class life. Drug use was part of a culture which explored new and intricate meanings of life. It contradicted many of the attitudes and morals of the dominant culture, yet many of its members would fully participate in the everyday systems of the hegemonic culture too. The bohemian subcultures and their drug use had distinct social meaning, representing the subcultural values of the lifestyle. As Young (1971 :157) argues;

> the bohemian seeks his identity through the pursuit of subterranean values. He is intent on creating a culture which is short term, hedonistic, spontaneous, expressive, exciting and unalienated. Hallucinogenic drugs facilitate such aims admirably.

Studies of the Hippy culture since the 1960's have identified drugs as fundamental to the development and maintenance of what is often termed the 'counterculture'. Indeed Willis (1978) in his study of British hippies found a homology between immediacy, drug use, an omniscient spirituality, and a sense of identity in the hippy community which was symbolised by their style and appearance. Drugs were an essential part of this process because they provided an immediate subjective experience, projecting the participants beyond the coercion of the world in which they were currently situated. This subculture was spatially and socially concentrated in particular areas and with particular groups in society.

[13]The radicalists were politically active and sought societal change through political reform. The bohemian revolution was not politically inactive, but felt there was a greater need to change peoples attitudes and lifestyles through a less material existence and the adoption of certain 'ways of life' which were 'alternative' to the hegemonic culture.

By the 1980's drug cultures were not solely concerned with the 'alternative' lifestyles, and diversified from the bohemian middle class subculture to embrace the cultural groupings of the lower classes. As one example O'Bryan (1989) states that heroin became an integral facet of local subcultures in North London. In many of the inner cities in Britain and other developed nations social and economic deprivation was becoming a reality for much of the urban poor. Drug use became an easy alternative to the boredom of unemployment and was a visible expression of the resulting frustration which accompanied these hard times. Drugs provided a focus and structure for everyday life, they gave individuals a purpose and meaning for life which was not being provided through the workplace.

This new drugs scene was far more reactionary and aggressive than the bohemian subculture had ever been. It was generally perceived as a greater threat to society, threatening to the social order of the dominant culture because it involved individuals who had real reason to resist and reject the current social and economic conditions. As Cohen suggested (1972) a 'moral panic' was evolving around this group of drug users who had found their niche in 'escapist' drugs and its associated lifestyle. The drugs that were used included heroin, cocaine and crack which had all become cheap and readily available. They were imported from abroad and were found on the streets marketed by pushers as an easy option, a way of escaping the perils of reality. The drugs were promoted as pleasurable, as deviant and as a way to 'have a good time'. Although the use of hard drugs in this way was not concerned only with those that were deprived, it tended to concentrate around these areas and thus was again a socially and spatially specific subculture.

The drugs used may have been relatively universal and the reasons behind such use may have been too, but there was not a homogeneous culture which surrounded this use. In each city, on each estate, specific cultures developed around the use of drugs which popularised some substances over others, and some methods of consumption over others. In Edinburgh, on the peripheral housing estates, there developed a culture which popularised heroin as the 'good time drug'[14]. What differentiated Edinburgh from other

[14]My undergraduate dissertation looked at the culture of heroin injection on the housing estates of Edinburgh in the summer of 1993. Here I particularly focused on the role injection had upon levels of H.I.V infection in the city.

cities, including neighbouring Glasgow, was the users method of consuming the drug, here injection was favored over 'chasing the dragon' or smoking the drug. A particular lifestyle emerged in Edinburgh around the injection of heroin where users met in groups to share the drugs they had spent the day scoring. The lifestyle did not only involve the consumption of the drug, but the complex procedure of obtaining the finances to afford the substance and the ability to 'score' from dealers. For the addict, the meaningless lifestyle of unemployed life was temporarily filled with purpose, meaning and a structure.

In the late 1980's the bohemian lifestyle and the heroin abusing addicts of the inner cities were supplanted by another drug related scene, what was to be later termed 'the rave or club culture'[15]. Rave emerged in the late 1980's from what was commonly recognised as the Acid House music scene and was associated with repetitive electronic music styles and long periods of constant energetic and stylistic dancing. It was seen by many as a reworking of the counterculture of the 1960's, a way of "using a clearly politicized past to engage with a difficult present situation" (McKay 1996 :106). Rave was a mixture of the old and the new, post disco dance music from the USA, the culture from the British package holiday, emerging from clubs in places like the Mediterranean island of Ibiza and from sixties and seventies nostalgia[16].

Raves initially evolved in rural locations in abandoned warehouse and barns, but were soon channeled into clubs and other large buildings after changes in the law occurred (Henderson 1993)[17]. In behavioural terms the ravers danced freely, waved their arms, blew whistles and hugged to the technically produced music styles. Rave, as a term came to define not only the dance and music related activities of the 'traditional' or 'original' rave, but also the more general club scene in many of the large cities and towns.

During the summers of the early 1990's two seemingly opposed youth cultures came into contact. Rural 'New Age Travellers' were joined temporarily by youths from urban

[15]This became highly popular in Britain within a short space of time, but with respect to New Zealand has yet to be developed in the same way. Youth cultures in this way are far less defined in New Zealand than in Britain and focus less on club related activities.
[16]Ibiza had been renowned for its drug history and had a reputation for a hippie lifestyle in the early 1960's and 1970's and this was being reworked in the club scene of the late 1980's.
[17]There has been much written on the illegal nature of raves and 'free parties', here though I am concentrating on the cultural side and will term raves as all types of party, clubs or social nights that involve this said music, dancing and culture.

areas for Rave events (Smith 1992). The rave culture became more fragmented than it had ever been before in 1986 and 1990. It appealed to New Age Travellers, working-class nightclubbers and university students alike. Collins (1997) suggests that rave was a unique cultural expression because it crossed the boundaries of class, age, race, gender and was therefore as relevant to the techno travellers as the urban deprived who he identifies as key participants in the rave culture.

Club culture, as defined in terms of the music and dance and style evolving from the rave scene, was not a unitary culture, but a cluster of subcultures sharing a territorial affiliation and maintaining their own dress codes, dance styles, music genres and catalogue of authorized and illicit rituals, which distinguished them from other groups. Club cultures became taste cultures. The individuals involved generally congregated on the basis of their shared taste in music, their consumption of common media, and most importantly, their preference for people with similar taste to themselves (Thornton 1995). The subcultural ideology became a means by which individuals could assert their identity.

The rave scene encompassed more than the nights of dance that were attended at regular intervals, it involved a particular style, type of clothing, attitude and acceptance of the use of illicit substances. In this respect it became more subcultural because it was a defined way of life. The prevailing attitude was more important than dress. Friendliness, sensuality, and 'body language' were all valued highly. The lack of style of rave clothing was in fact a style of its own which distinguished true ravers from other social groups, such that it was easy to recognise those "who did not belong to 'the scene'" (Redhead 1993 :53).

Rave was seen by many as simply an "opportunity to blow off steam and escape the mundaness and constraints of modern life (boring jobs, unemployment, television)" (Newcombe 1991 :4). It represented an ability to "escape the constraints of 'the self' and 'normal behaviour'" (Newcombe 1991 :5). Rave allowed a disappearance from daily material realities by an undoing of the constructed 'self' in a Diionysian ritual which became the ultimate desired effect (Nietschze 1871 :22). They provided the participants with a community in which they could belong, a culture they related to, "a place where nobody is, but everybody belongs" (Redhead 1993 :37). Thornton (1995) suggests that

the club and rave culture house "*ad hoc* communities with fluid boundaries which may come together and dissolve in a single summer or endure for a few years" (1995: 11). The club or rave becomes a social space in which young people can escape the constraints of adult or societal supervision, and carve out *virtual*, and claim *actual* space by filling it with their music (Thornton 1995).

Rave appears quite subcultural in nature. It provides an identity for its members separate from the dominant culture, it has cohesive forces which bind the members together and creates a sense of belonging. Raves exhibit behavioural patterns which differ from the dominant culture, and in some respects are the antithesis of the hegemonic culture. Rave and its associated music and style appealed to young people because it provided a social space in which to express oneself, a space which was beyond the confines of adult supervision.

As noted above drugs have been systematically associated with different subcultures over the past century. It is however within the rave scene that drugs have become a central and integral focus of attention, both ravers, reporters and critics emphasise the centrality of E "whether to praise or demonise it" (McKay 1996 :110). The rave scene and its use of house music gave a natural alliance with drugs such as ecstasy, the mental state it produced being "intimately related to the sounds, designs and concepts of house music culture" (Newcombe 1991 :1). Drugs allowed a stepping out of 'real' life into a temporary sphere of activity with a disposition all of its own (Huizinga 1969). Here the work of H.G Wells becomes interesting. In it he suggests that drugs create doors in the wall of consciousness allowing us to step out into a world free of the norms of working life. They provide us not with an escape from reality, but an escape into alternative forms of reality (in Young 1997). Redhead (1993 :65) suggests that the use of drugs takes an individual back to a stage in psychological development prior to the acquisition of language, thereby undoing the self that is constituted in and by language, and in and by its constructed discourse. Therefore " a break is caused with the symbolic order at the most basic level" and the rave lifestyle emerges as reactionary and oppositional from the dominant culture (1993 :65).

As stated previously rave was initially centred around the barns and attics on disused farmland. It then diversified into the more structured club scene but by the late 1980's it

was again returning to the rural landscape. Festivals such as Glastonbury, Castlemorton soon attracted the large rave centred bands and their associated followers. What was happening was a return to the roots of rave, or a diversification in the locations where it was thought to be most appropriate to stage them (Collins 1997). Raves were therefore spatially centred in particular areas, they also appealed to particular groups of the population however diverse these groups were. It was not initially a universal phenomenon, but was initially appealing to particular groups at particular times in their lives and often in particular places too. It was to some extent a modernist subculture which was highly structured, coherent and ordered.

This however did not remain the case for long. Rave soon diversified further and appealed to the masses with many aspects of it becoming integral parts of mainstream youth cultures. Henderson (1993) suggests that the 'rave scene' has since become commodified, it is now big business, "part of mainstream popular culture - from high street fashion outlets, to pop radio stations and youth magazines, even the football terraces" and as such is less subcultural than it was previously (1993 :122). The popularisation of the taste and style of rave culture ensured that as a culture it crossed class boundaries and normalised the style and behaviour for which it was renowned. "Ravers were caught in a maze of consumerism.....eating up signs of other subcultures, thereby incorporating and attracting a wide and plural cross section of British youth" (Rietveld 1991 :25). Items styled by the culture were fully commercialised and became available on the high street. Henderson (1993) suggests this;

> take up of dress styles associated with the scene by high street fashions outlets and youth magazines....was an important turning point in the pathway from sub-cult to mainstream and helped associate the drug scene with fashion and things often viewed as frivolous by 'serious' social/cultural commentators and early participants in the rave scene alike (Henderson 1993 :124).

As the rave became more mainstream its whole culture and ethos altered. The rave and its associated culture still exhibited many of the original subcultural characteristics, but not all of them were taken on board by the young people. They seemed to choose aspects which did not contradict the identity they held for the majority of the time. Certain aspects of rave became more an expression of lifestyle than a subculture in their own right. As Newcombe (1991) suggests the rave;

> changed its status from a cliquey, mutating underground subculture to a more socially diverse, stable and consumerist leisure culture, blurring the boundaries between such previously disparate groups as football fans and various pop music 'tribes (1991 :6).

This diversification of rave and its widening appeal to a variety of young people from differing social groups, ensured that it was no longer truly subcultural in any real sense. The features which had been previously associated with subcultural groups were no longer the dominant features of the rave subculture. Merchant and MacDonald (1994) identify these differences from other subcultures as follows:

a) Firstly, subcultures usually appeal to a minority. With the case of rave it was the majority. It had become a mass youth phenomenon (Newcombe 1992).

b) Secondly, rave is not essentially or wholly working class, some have suggested that it is even a middle class affair (Fraser et al 1991). It holds appeal between classes and within classes (different fractions) which differentiates it from many other cultural groupings.

c) Thirdly, youth cultures tend to be seen as either falling on one side of the resistance / acceptance dichotomy. Rave is not either of these. Rave is more hedonistic than purposeful in the way other youth cultures have been.

d) Fourthly, rave appeals to women as much as men and previously subcultures have been seen as predominantly male..

e) Finally rave does not involve distinctive styles and dress forms like other subcultures. The only unifying theme is drugs and this tends to be only a weekend activity for those involved.

Rave became more fluid and more like a lifestyle choice which individuals could tap into periodically if they chose to. It became a feature of the increasing globalised world system whereby spatial boundaries were less and less significant.

As part of the lifestyle of rave, drugs soon appealed not only to those clubbers and ravers who were wholly committed to the dance scene, but also younger adolescents who adopted drug use as part of their leisure activities. Drug use itself diversified and was transformed into a part of mass youth culture rather than as a specific form of the rave subculture. It was not a soluble social problem but a functional and powerful social process with which many young people were engaging. Parker et al (1994 :24) suggest

that this generations engagement with drugs is a form of consumption, a choice in self-medication, based on a cost-benefit analysis of what the pleasure market can offer. Drugs epitomise what many have termed the 'Thatcherite era of consumption', in that they represent a form of leisure or recreation available only to those with the financial means to support such a past time[18]. They became part of the mainstream and appeal to those from all classes, backgrounds, ages, races and both sexes[19]. Drugs have become, fashionable not only in the sense of being popular and widespread but also as being associated with fashions[20]. Substances used provide not only the altered psychological and physical states of mind, but have come to represent a lifestyle, an image, a sense of belonging. Drugs as a commodity evolve with;

> an aura beyond just its function. The commodity now acts on the consumer, endows him/ her with perceived qualities which can be displayed in widening public contexts (Tomlinson 1990 :9).

It is not what the object does or is, but rather what it signifies, drugs here represent the participation in a particular lifestyle, adherence to certain values, norms and attitudes . For young people drugs provide a form of what Bourdieu terms 'subcultural capital' or hipness, conferring status on its owner in the eyes of the relevant beholder (Thornton 1995). Club cultures (and their associated music and drug use) are taste cultures, with crowds congregating around their shared tastes in music and the consumption of drugs, and also their preference for people with similar tastes to themselves. Thornton's (1995) study of clubbers in London found this feeling of belonging and identity to be vital to their choice to participate in the scene.

For young people the use of drugs has come to facilitate the feelings of belonging and normality which are often crucial to identity formation. For most, fitting in with the crowd and not being 'different' is an essential part of this process. Peer groups among young people are a common means of gauging one's position in the social hierarchy, a way of measuring your 'normality' against others in the peer group. The drug and dance

[18]I will return to the idea of consumption later when I discuss in detail the normalisation of drugs by young people.

[19]Indeed work by Newcombe (1993) suggests that drug use has become an integral facet of the lives of the majority of young people in East Sussex irrespective of age, class, gender. Other studies by researchers such as Balding (1992) Measham and Newcombe (1994) suggest that these studies reflect reality with drug use as central to the culture of youth in the late 20th century.

[20]As will be illustrated through my fieldwork the drugs culture has been marketed with particular types of clothing and has been used as a selling point.

culture, having initially attracted particular social groups have now extended and grip the consciousness of youth across much of Britain. Participation in aspects of this scene have evolved as a crucial component of 'fitting in' amongst many peer groups. Drugs are no longer specific to certain subcultures such as the heroin subculture or the rave subculture, they have become a part of the mainstream. Drugs are therefore less subcultural and more strongly associated with the dominant youth culture of the late 20th century. They are increasingly a lifestyle choice of many young people.

This take up of the drugs culture by mainstream youth groups has occurred at a time when a number of changes have transpired in the social structure of society. There is the increasing impact of international communication and transport, the role of global markets on consumer choice, an emphasis on consumption rather than production. As Parker et al (1995) conclude "illegal drugs have become products which are grown, manufactured, packaged and marketed through an enterprise culture whereby the legitimate and illicit markets have merged.....This cannot be prevented because the restrictions need to be avoided if the global economy is to function efficiently" (1995 :25). In this respect what has emerged from the processes of globalisation is an increasing ease at which young people can obtain and consume illegal substances. The global economy is creating a readily available supply of illicit drugs in the social space which young people occupy, the school, the street, the friends house, the pub, the club. In addition there has been an overlap in the use of legal and illegal drugs by young people, creating what many have termed a system of 'Polydrug use'. This interaction between the two types of substances extends to their names and advertising as well. As one example Diamond White is an alcoholic drink and White Diamond a 'brand' of ecstasy. 'Rave' is also a competitor brand of youth market fortified wine, mimicking the market leader of Mad Dog 20/20, and makes explicit linkages with the dance drugs scene. What results is a furthering of the identity link with the youth culture market economy. (Measham forthcoming).

The drugs culture becomes a part of the global culture, something which is not spatially defined and is therefore seen as universal among young people. Indeed researchers such as Parker et al (1995) have suggested that "the motives for drug use maybe less concerned with peer group status and more with rational consumption as part of young people's approach to leisure time" (1995 :26). Drugs have become more integral to that

process of leisure consumption than ever before. As Parker et all (1995) argue they are "a normal part of the leisure- pleasure landscape" for most young people (1995 :25). Drug use has therefore been internalised or integrated into 'official youth culture' it has become the normal behaviour for the majority of young people. Measham (1994) suggests that the arrival of 'rave' and other 'pay party' scenes in the late 1980's was the watershed whereby drugs moved from subculture status to become part of the mainstream youth culture. She continues to argue that it has become so integral to youth culture that it now features in all aspects of that culture including magazines, music, fashion markets and popular language.

In their article 'Drugs Futures' Parker, Measham and Aldridge (1995) discuses in detail the ways in which drugs have been integrated into many aspects of youth culture. They suggest that magazines such as Eternity, sold widely across the UK, has specific features on illicit drugs. Other more common titles including I-D, The Face, Vox, Select, Mixmag also pay attention to the drugs scene discussing the relative merits of particular drugs and clubs. Obviously the music scene is where drugs as part of youth culture have become the most clearly centred. House and Dance music often have lyrics which refer to the feelings provided by drugs and even the titles can explicitly refer to drug use. Examples include Dopestyle, Pills and thrills. In advertising, marketing and fashion the drugs culture has been used as a means of connecting youth with particular products. After the superwaif models, agencies moved on to employ pale, thin unhealthy junkie lookalikes to model high fashions grunge. As Parker et al (1995) suggest

> Fashion models stared out of fashion magazines like glazed, stoned and vacant drug addicts in a glamorization of drug related unhealthiness.....Clothes and body image all indicate the acceptance of drug use as a part of youth culture through the widespread use of the imagery of drug culture. (1995 :24)

Finally, a whole language has developed around youth drug culture from which adults are excluded. Even young people who themselves do not use are "drugs literate" (Parker et al 1995 :24). Slang names exist for most of the substances used and this often creates a sense of coherence among young people involved in the scene.

If drugs have become a part of mainstream youth cultures and lifestyles and are truly global, one would expect to see the participation in that scene by the majority of young people across Britain. In Chapter One the extent of drug use across Britain was

recognised and how this 'normalisation', has resulted in a lack of fear surrounding drug use. Substance use has evolved as an integral part of the lives of many young people. Those that do not participate regularly with drug use *per se* are often involved with the music and fashion components of the youth culture scene, which are fully linked in with the use of drugs. The drugs culture would therefore appear to be a universal phenomenon amongst British youth. The choice to participate in the drugs scene would appear to be available to all young people[21]. Social barriers of peer group pressure and the need to 'fit in' seem only to further the availability of substances to young people. Where participation is avoided, or where individuals become only partially involved it is their choice to do so. In a globalised world system drug use would seem to be universal. We would expect to see few individuals who are not part of the drugs culture, nor many places that are excluded from the influence of drugs. Indeed research has shown that rural and urban are not sufficient indicators to determine an areas likelihood of participation in that scene. As the Institute for the Study of Drug Dependence has shown "what is surprising is the parity between these urban levels of use and those in rural areas. Researchers who have tried to find a significant difference between the use of drugs in town and country have been sorely disappointed. (ISDD 1996 :51). For those that chose not to participate the sense of belonging or identity created by participation may not be outweighed by the individuals need to adhere to their own sense of agency and the factors which surround this. Individuals do not simply accept cultures, they are not simply passive receptors to the cultural sources they are presented with. Individuals react to, and chose to participate in the cultures that hold the greatest appeal, and which do not contradict aspects of their individual agency.

But are global cultures as universal as they are thought to be? Has space and individual agency become so unimportant that individuals now adhere to the global culture without questioning potential conflicts with their own morality? With respect to young people and drug use I would suggest there is tension between what the culture can provide and the sets of associations and relations which reflect their individuality. These include their parental guidance, their conscience, their morals, and their opportunity to participate in other cultures. Such associations and relations I would suggest are strongly linked to their place of residence and space again becomes relevant. The existence of social

[21]It must be noted however that this choice is not taken up by all young people, that many do indeed choose not to participate in the scene.

barriers becomes supplanted by spatial ones which both directly and indirectly limit the extent to which a culture is taken up by groups of individuals. As a result one would expect to see geographical variations based on cultural differences which are place related.

What emerges is not so much a global culture but a postmodern culture where individuals pick and chose aspects of the global culture which they then appropriate and develop into a culture of their own. The global system still persists, but is reconfigurated by individuals in a search for identity and belonging, and pockets of localised place related cultures emerge. Researchers such as Parker and Measham (1994), McRobbie (1994) and Mungford (1994) suggest a wholly postmodern culture exists around drug use whereby individuals can not only 'Pick and mix' the drugs they wish to use but also other aspects of the culture they wish to be associated with. Here we can return to the work of Maffesoli (1991 :11) whose 'neo-tribalism' can be applied to the study of the postmodern drugs culture. It provides a situation where people can gather together to "bathe in affectual ambiance" in their search for community and belonging something which many believe has been lost through the postmodern condition (Halfacree 1995 :4)[22]. Here the individual becomes both a member of the mass and also belongs to specific 'crystalised neo-tribes' (Maffesoli 1996, p.99, 127) which are actively worked on by its members. A part of the global as well as the local. The reward of the neo-tribe is not necessarily formed from being reactionary or oppositional towards the hegemonic culture, but reward is created from "just being together with like minded people" (Halfacree 1997 :4). What is essential though is what Halfacree terms an "internal morality" which provides a degree of coherence for its members (1997 :4). In this respect what one would expect to see across Britain and other countries is a take up of many parts of the global drugs scene by the majority of young people, but with pockets of individuality which distinguish one area from another.

The *choice to* participate in a culture, or subculture, or lifestyle surrounding drugs, or not, relates to the relationship between place, culture and individual agency. Space I would suggest *does play an integral role in* an individuals choice to participate in a

[22]Maffesoli (1991) argues that class based identities and New Right individualism should be deconstructed in favour of new collectives, emerging as what Bauman (1992 :136) argues are a "multitude of individual acts *of self-identification*".

particular lifestyle or not, be it a direct or indirect role. I would also question the ease to which it is possible to have full access to a lifestyle which is evidently based around distinct forms of communal activity[23] and the ease with which these cultures have become truly universal. Rural areas may therefore inhibit the full participation in certain aspects of the lifestyle, for example where attendance of clubs or raves is deemed necessary. There may also be problems which are not so much do to with access[24], but perhaps are concerned with cultural constructions of the rural, and the inability for discourses surrounding drug use to be associated with rural areas. It maybe not so much that space inhibits the use of drugs, but that it inhibits the recognition of that use. What becomes interesting to analyse is the ways in which particular lifestyles become moulded by space, and hence altered. Do some areas limit adherence to the lifestyles or does it simply have to be more contrived, hidden or discreet? What is it that differs the lifestyles of young people in rural areas from those in urban areas (if anything)?

This chapter has sought to identify the ways in which youth and its associated cultures and subcultures have been regarded in the 20th century. It has identified how distinctly bound and structured groups of young people, although persisting, have in many ways been overtaken by more lifestyle orientated groups. With respect to drug use it has been shown how drugs have become an integral part of mainstream youth cultures moving from the realms of the subcultural into the mainstream. The globalised world system has created a universal drugs culture in which differentiation is thought to no longer exist. In reality I would suggest that what may emerge is a postmodern system of drug use, where some aspects are universal and some are more locally based. In addition there may be issues of non-use by individuals whose individual agency may prevent the participation in the scene.

Although attention has been placed on British youth cultures and subcultures here, they alone are not the sole component of the study. Much work on youth cultures and subcultures has tended to emerge from Anglo-American researchers and thus this forms the focus for this chapter. In the remaining parts of the thesis New Zealand empirical

[23]It is rare that substance use occurs when individuals are alone. Most substance use is a group activity, often alongside the music and dance, but nearly always a communal pursuit. If substance use is part of a wider lifestyle choice of an individual which involves club cultures, the proximity to urban areas becomes crucial.

[24]These are evidently important, but not the sole consideration.

work will be used as a contrast and comparison to the British fieldwork, and the various youth cultures and subcultures surrounding drug use in both countries will be looked at. New Zealand exhibits a number of differences in its cultural experiences of drug use, firstly in its limited development of the rave and dance related drug scene and secondly in the general use of drugs by its young people, and these differences will become evident in the later chapters. In the following chapter the methods used in this study will be discussed and the ethical issues faced during the fieldwork identified.

Chapter Four.

Methodology.

4.1 Introduction

> We are in the reality construction business: the tortuous business of learning to see the world of individuals or groups as they see it (Eyles, 1988, p.1-2).

In the first three chapters of this thesis the subject matter and its place in the academic field was discussed, providing the theoretical framework in which it has been placed. This chapter, as a methodological chapter, becomes essential to the thesis, drawing together the theory from the preceding chapters and the empirical evidence outlined in the remaining text. I will provide detailed explanations of my choice of methodology and its place in my research on the nature of rural drug use.

Throughout this chapter I will reflect upon my own positionality within the research process, recognising how this influences us as 'knowers' and 'producers' of geographical knowledge. I draw substantially on the ethnographic methodologies as a critique of the era of logical positivism, arguing that qualitative methodologies provide a more comprehensive representation of reality. In addition through recognising youth and drug users as examples of 'rural others' (Philo 1992), I hope to legitimise their subjective experiences as a way of understanding further what *the rural* means at a discursive and experiential level for those living there.

Within this chapter I will address the methodologies adopted, and the philosophical, practical and ethical issues involved with my choice of research strategy. Within this I hope to acknowledge the relations I have with those I am researching, in particular the power that pervades any research process and the effects this has upon subsequent knowledge claims. This approach ensures that the subjective nature of the research process

becomes an integral part of the written text. Research here becomes a highly personalised process embedded with distinct power, racial, gender and class differences. Through this I adhere to Cloke's (1995) use of the work of Probyn (1993) suggesting it is important to acknowledge both personal positionality and broader categories of discourse which will reflect these essentialist spaces (1993 :152)[1].

In addition I follow the thoughts of researchers such as Cook and Crang (1995) who suggest that the process of actually doing the research can no longer be ignored and must become an integral part of the written text. Recent work by post-modernists and indeed feminist researchers has come to suggest that research is not a linear process but "messy, intensely frustrating and fundamentally non-linear" (Marshall and Rossman 1989 :21). In this respect I have adopted a more reflexive approach to my research methodology and how I have chosen to write this thesis.

Firstly then, I will identify the philosophical bases of my ethnographic research strategy. Through this I will identify why such an approach was deemed appropriate for this thesis, defining and discussing the advantages and disadvantages of the methods employed. Issues such as access, ethics, validation, are then discussed within the context of my fieldwork.

4.2 Qualitative research methods.

In the past few decades critiques of the era of logical positivism have emerged within academic research. These have regarded the application of *the natural* science model as an inadequate method of representing social

[1] This form of positioning one's research has become increasingly 'popular' in recent years and evolves as a critique of previous ethnographic fieldwork where the ethnographer tended to remain invisible from the text "to report with omniscient authority" (Katz 1992 : 496). Positioning one's research was an attempt by many to erase the "distanced and false stance of objectivity and ...expose their own point of view - the tangle of background, influences, political perspectives, training, situations, that helped form and inform their interpretations" (Christian 1989 :67). At the start of this thesis I have attempted to do just that, position my research within a wider context of my own background, thoughts, morals, attitudes as a way of illustrating how the research process can never be fully objective or distanced from the researcher. A reflection of my own positionality, my background can therefore be identified at the start of this thesis.

phenomena. Positivism reached its apogee in the 'logical positivism' of the 1930's and 1940's in which it influenced sociological studies of the city in Chicago. Such studies were soon to be discredited and regarded with hostility. The search for an unbiased, objective truth became an inappropriate goal, and qualitative research methods became increasingly 'mainstream' moving from "a marginal position in many social science disciplines towards a much more central place " (Hammersley 1990 :597).

The Chicago School, diverged its attention and soon came to be renowned for its contribution to urban ethnography, (Jackson, 1984). Hammersley and Atkinson term this 'alternative' to positivism as 'naturalism'. The world was to be studied in its 'natural state', combining a respect and appreciation for the object under study, "which springs from a fortuitous juxtaposition of formalism and pragmatism" (Jackson and Smith 1984 :71).

Pragmatism, as a version of empiricism interprets the meaning and justification of beliefs in terms of their 'practical effects' or consequences, is deeply humanistic in quality. As Jackson and Smith conclude pragmatism is;

> formulated as a reaction to the ideas of traditional realism, pragmatism subscribes to a line of reasoning that experience is a necessary condition of knowledge (Jackson and Smith 1984 :71).

It was this interactionist tradition which heavily influenced Park's development of ethnographic methodologies, alongside the works of W James (1899), John Dewey and Herbert Mead (Park 1940). Reality, it was affirmed was inexhaustible and could not be documented by a single theory. Ethnography therefore claimed to portray one of many perspectives on social reality and could be studied only through actual experience (Jackson and Smith 1984).

Ethnography developed as a research method which focused on the researcher being an integral part of the research process. This was grounded by the emerging philosophical traditions of the time such as humanism,

Marxism, realism, postmodernism, feminism. Within this thesis I focused heavily on qualitative methods, in particular on those considered to be 'ethnographic' in nature. Recent years has seen ethnography being adopted by social scientists in the study of their own societies, diversifying from its initial use by anthropologists in the study of unusual cultures. No longer is it used only in the study of exotic cultures in far off places "ethnography has come home, to become a fundamental tool for understanding ourselves and the multi-cultural societies of the modern world" (Spradley 1980 :5).

Ethnography as a social research method is based on the theories of naturalism negating that the world is studied in its natural state (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983)[2]. Jackson suggests that ethnography "should not be regarded as a 'technique' which can be effectively employed in isolation from other research procedures, but as an approach with a common core of appropriate methods...." (1983 :40). Throughout my research I adopted an ethnographic approach utilising individual interviews, group discussions, participant observation and detailed fieldwork diaries, attempting to "understand parts of the world as they are experienced and understood in the everyday lives of people who actually 'live them out'" (Cook and Crang 1995 :2).

In the early days of the ethnographic tradition Herbert Blumer criticised positivist science as glossing over the details of social life and suggested that ethnography allowed a "lifting of the veils" in order to reach the real world. Blumer's tradition of ethnography was distinctly realist in nature, arguing that through the adoption of these methodologies social phenomenon could be captured in their own 'naturalistic' way (Hammersley 1992). The world was seen in its natural state, and in greater detail than was possible through the adoption of quantitative methods. Within my research the adoption of qualitative methods seemed more applicable. Quantitative techniques would

[2]This evolves in response to positivism which relies heavily on quantification.

have failed to uncover the intricate details of the lives of those I studied. This was especially true given the sensitive nature of my research topic.

Ethnography is committed to the idea that people construct the social world, both through their interpretation of it, and through actions based on these interpretations. The world becomes something which is experienced individually as well as collectively and consequently no one representation encompasses all experiences of social reality. Blumer (1969 :11) contests that even those in geographical proximity may be living different social worlds which are incommensurable. I suggest here that I am seeking to understand and document the multiple perspectives within and between particular rural societies (Hammersley 1992)[3]. Each representation of social reality I uncover being no more or less real than any other. Through this a relativistic element within ethnography becomes evident.

Research as a non-linear process negates that we are unable to separate ourselves from that which we study. What emerges are "multiple, non-contradictory and valid descriptions and explanation of the same phenomenon" (Hammersley 1992 :51). Through ethnography we can document many of these explanations rather than simply one, representing the world in a more realistic way. Hammersley (1992) argues that there is a divide in the philosophical underpinnings of ethnography between realism and relativism, and suggests neither is an adequate way of researching the social world. He instead argues for a form of subtle realism which allows us to search for a more 'real' representation of the social world than allowed through quantitative methods (realism), and also permits us to document multiple accounts of that world (relativism).

Through adopting a form of subtle realism I was aware that I was not independent of those I studied, and that my conclusions were indeed only

[3]This follows my thoughts on the social construction of the rural as documented in chapter 1 where I argued that the rural holds different meaning for different people and thus cannot be assigned one definition or description.

one perspective of the social world I studied. I was seeking to document a more 'real' rurality through a "lifting [of] the veils" on many perspectives of rurality (Blumer 1969). It was my intention to allow the researched to speak for themselves and to talk about the issues that were of importance to them rather than what I deemed as important[4]. Spradley (1980) suggests that it is possible for ethnographers to represent the world from the 'natives point of view' through the adoption of ethnographic techniques (1980 :3).

Through ethnography we 'dig deeply' to find what is really there, but our own cultural background influences how we receive such information and document it in the written text. We are unable to "step outside our narrow cultural backgrounds, to set aside our socially inherited ethnocentrism to apprehend the world from the view-point of the other human beings who live by different meaning systems" (Spradley 1980 :7,8). Our positionality undoubtedly effects our ability to be objective. As Agar suggests, we take with us into the field;

> more baggage than a tape recorder and a toothbrush, having grown up in a particular culture, acquiring many of its sometimes implicit assumptions about the nature of reality (Agar 1980 :41).

Research becomes embedded with our distinct subjectivities, our classed, gendered, racialised and social background, our politics and our academic history. This "baggage" is with us throughout the research process informing our choice of topic, the methods and theoretical tools used, and in the written text what we choose to represent and how.

Ethnographic texts remain a "gloss, a summary which contains and indeed is a representation which provides a partial selection of 'what was'" (Stanley 1990 :623). Like all forms of research, ethnography is not objective and remains partial in its representation of the social world. We cannot distance

[4] This process becomes an integral part of the written text too. As I will illustrate later in this chapter I follow Crang (1992) who advocates the use of 'polyphony' incorporating more than one voice into the written text, allowing the process of continual self-reflexivity to pervade the construction of text.

ourselves fully from that which has made us who we are, neither can we stand apart from the world that we study. Research involves participation in the social world and is therefore not fundamentally different from other forms of social activity. We are part of the world that we study, this participation holding wider implications for the claims we make about our research findings (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983).

We must accept also that those researched will relay issues of their lives which they believe to be of importance, and leave out others which may have been significant to the research topic. It is essential that the social context of the research meeting becomes a point of critique whereby we question where the research subjects are "coming from, and going to, and where on this path the research encounter took place" (Cook and Crang 1995 :5). It is my intention throughout this thesis to give voice to my research subjects, and through adopting this approach I recognise that within and between accounts there will be many "inconsistencies and contradictions" (Hedges 1985)[5].

Having chosen to adopt an ethnographic approach to this study I considered also the gendered nature of my research. To date theories of subcultural youth have tended to focus on working class male groups. In recent years the work of researchers such as McRobbie (1991) has challenged this focus on masculine youth cultures and diversified work to incorporate female groups. It was my intention throughout the research to adopt what I term a 'gendered' approach to this study. Through this I hoped to assess the impact gender had upon young people's experiences of rural life and their participation with drug related cultures. Through addressing gender differences from both a male and female perspective I felt a wider analysis could be made. My methodology is therefore informed by the feminist project, recognising females as agents of knowledge, and this will form a significant part of my analysis in Chapter Five.

[5] I refer to these ideas in the section on interpretation within this Chapter.

In the following section I will outline the strategy I adopted during the fieldwork, where and with whom it was located. I will address the issues of my positionality, the ethics of such research and the problems I encountered during the fieldwork.

4.3 The research process - Where, who, when and why.

My fieldwork was carried out over a period of nine months, three in each of my research areas of Yorkshire Hertfordshire and New Zealand[6]. It commenced in November 1995 when I moved to the Yorkshire Dales where I remained until the New Year. During this period I was based in a town directly in the middle of the two villages I studied. In the villages of study I carried out interviews (both structured and unstructured) with 25 young people aged 12-18 years. I interviewed both males and females within this age group. Members of the youth service, local council workers, drug centre counselors and the local police force were also interviewed on a variety of issues. I worked as a volunteer youth worker in two rural based youth clubs in the villages of study and gained extra insight into the lives of the young people through some outreach work with a youth counselor[7]. In

[6]An overseas study area, I felt, would be interesting and rewarding and would contextualise Britain in a wider context, answering criticism that much of contemporary research is Anglo-American based. New Zealand was chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly the contacts Bristol University has with departments in New Zealand have strengthened over the past few years and so the choice seemed a highly pragmatic one. There was an opportunity to study overseas and it was taken. In addition, New Zealand appeared a peusdo familiar setting in which to investigate youth drug taking cultural behaviour. What interested me most was the idea that the themes discussed in the theoretical chapters could be identified on a global scale, youth culture not being country specific but world wide. It appeared that New Zealand had a similar cultural identity, but was geographically separate from Britain and I felt it would be interesting to illustrate whether New Zealand culture was more agriculturally based and was therefore not affected so widely by issues such as drug use. A third aspect of this case study would focus on 'race' differences and regard what influences the indigenous Maori played on cultural constructions of rurality in New Zealand. In addition I hoped to regard how 'western' drugs culture maps onto the lifestyles of indigenous groups in New Zealand perhaps forming new cultural constructions for the rural people, or whether they have their own 'traditional' drugs scene.

[7]This was made possible through my qualification as a youth counselor as I have attended an Introduction to Counseling Skills Course at South Bristol College January 1995. I was not able to provide one to one counseling sessions but felt more able to help those young people who required some assistance.

addition I carried out four focus groups sessions with a group of eight young people from one of the villages. I also spent time with some of the adult members of the communities talking with them generally about life in the village[8].

In January 1996 I moved to Hertfordshire where I carried out a similar strategy of fieldwork., 25 young people were interviewed and again a focus group was set up, but due to various problems only two meetings were possible here[9]. The police, and youth and drug workers were again questioned. Generally a similar strategy was adopted here as in Yorkshire, but the data was obtained from three villages as opposed to two. I lived in a nearby town and was able to spend time in the village with adult members of the community talking about the village and village life, but on quite an informal basis. This was particularly interesting in Hertfordshire because I was able to gain an insight into the spatial boundaries imposed by groups in the village community. The young people talked in detail about the boundaries they imposed for their own patterns of use and also the boundaries they imposed for other members of the village community. Information such as this would have been impossible to obtain without a degree of time being spent with the members of the community.

In New Zealand I was fortunate enough to have contacts from the Ministry of Youth Affairs who assisted me in my choice of field site and my access to interview groups. After secondary research in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch interviewing professionals in the drug related field I moved to a small rural community in the Bay of Plenty, where I lived between October and November 1996. I tried hard to retain a similar pattern of research there as had been carried out in Britain, but inevitably there were some

[8] This was quite limited though because I chose to study three areas broadly rather than one area in depth.

[9] These problems related to the lack of trust I encountered with the young people and their lack of enthusiasm for my work. There was obviously no way that I could force them to participate in such activities.

differences[10]. In addition I was able to meet and talk with members from the National Drug and Alcohol forum, Ministry of Health and Youth Affairs, and related drug and youth agencies.

My research in New Zealand focused more on group interviews rather than individual ones because of the lack of trust I experienced within the community. I was able to carry out ten group sessions and seven individual interviews with young people aged between 16-18 years of age. Again other members of the local community formed part of my fieldwork too but this was carried out on a more informal basis during social occasions.

4.4 The research locations.

The three study areas were chosen on a relatively random basis. I had initial ideas that I wanted to study areas with different cultural identities and which therefore had different experiences of rural life[11]. Selection was not made using a complicated set of variables, but previous knowledge of the areas and pragmatically, those from whom I had greatest response after initial letters and inquiry had occurred. The research process would have been impossible if full access to my groups of study was not allowed, and this formed the basis of my selection.

Initially I decided upon three areas of study in order to gain a breadth of data. In concentrating on more than one study area I realised I would be sacrificing some depth of information obtainable in each area, but felt my preference within this thesis was to illustrate a wider perspective on rural drug use. It was my intention to chose rural areas that differed from each other in order that a such a comparison could occur. The areas chosen were therefore north Hertfordshire, close to London and other large towns, which I felt would illustrate how urban culture impinged upon the rural, and West Yorkshire (mainly the Yorkshire Dales) which I felt as a more 'remote' rural

[10]As indeed there were inevitably some differences between my two British field sites.
[11] Although it must be noted that each of the areas I studied were in fact quite affluent, certainly in Britain.

area might illustrate a different experience of rurality. I was also interested in the circulation of ideas of rurality at a national level, how the construction of rurality was (if at all) bound up with ideas of north and south. Did the conceptual boundaries of north play on the social constructions of the rural? Were gender differences accentuated by geographic location? Was drug use effected in any way by geographic location? These questions were to form an additional line of inquiry for my thesis.

With regard to the New Zealand research the choice of study area was highly pragmatic. The rural community used was one I was given access to via contacts made in Wellington at the Ministry of Youth Affairs. It was selected as an area with a high incidence of marijuana being grown locally and a high level of consumption among its population too. I felt from initial information that as an area it would demonstrate the influences of race, gender and age with respect to both rurality and drug use. It was also a community detached from larger city regions, and one which depended highly on a traditional rural industry, logging, for its employment. This I felt would compare well with the Yorkshire study are and contrast well with the Hertfordshire study area.

Where at all possible work focused on villages but it was essential that I diversified my research strategy to incorporate some small rural towns in order to gain access to required groups[12]. My only precondition was that the towns were distinct from built up areas and 'rural' in nature (this I defined as the population's perception that their area of residence was rural rather than any statistical definition). Although the final decision as to which areas to study was indeed a pragmatic one, I insisted upon the areas I initially contacted fulfilling certain criteria;

1) I wished to study rural areas both close to large towns and those which were more remote.

[12] The village community was often difficult to access and I felt it was often a private and closed off space for outsiders.

2) I wished to study areas with a significant population of young people living in small towns and villages. My access point was to be the youth service, so some youth groups or facilities were a necessary criteria.
3) I had no 'quantitative' data with which to determine what I classed as rural, but having personal knowledge and experience of both British areas was which I identified with most.

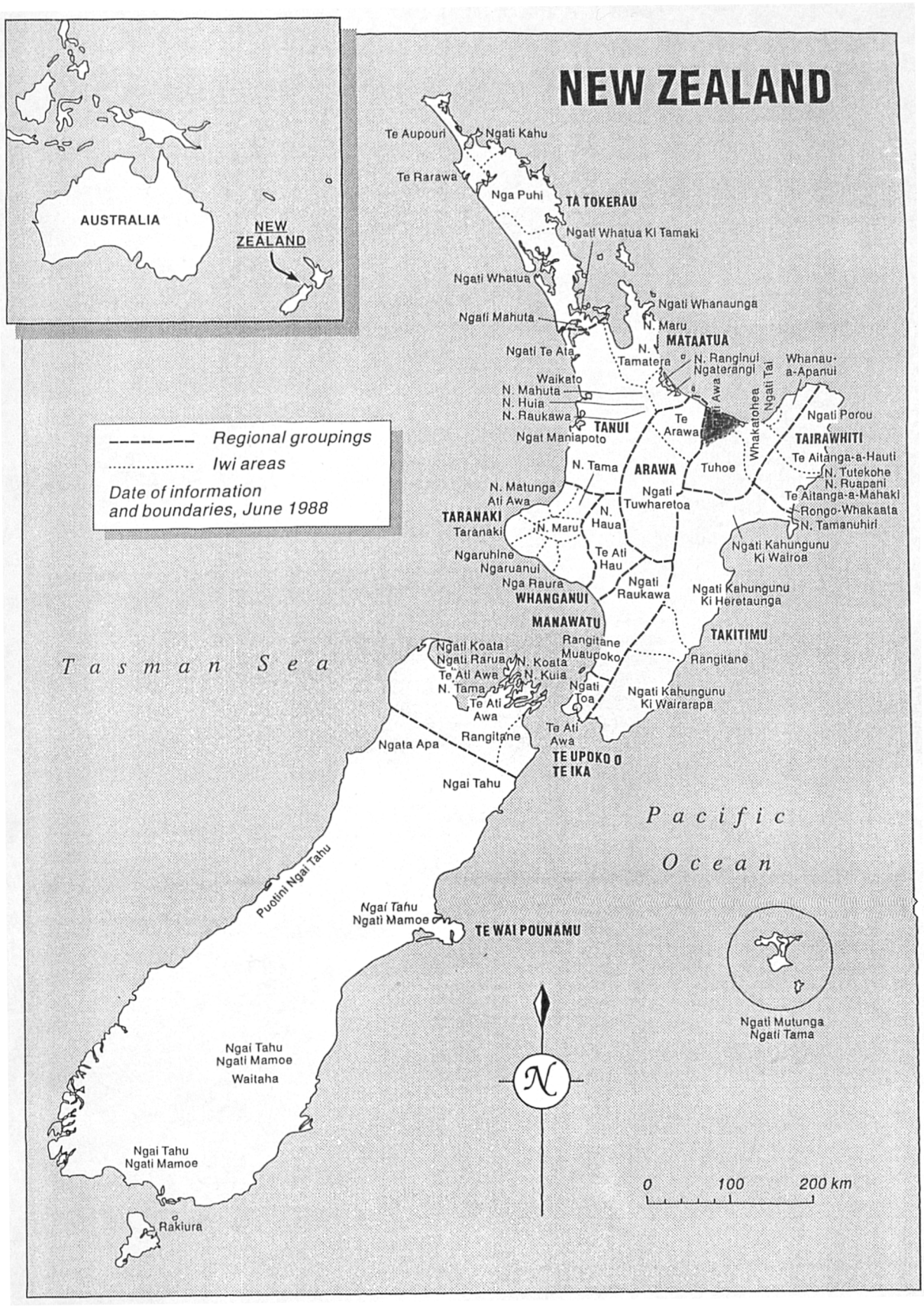
I imposed my own definition of rurality onto those I studied through my choice of rural areas. This is itself indicative of the power I held as a researcher[13]. I criticised in the first chapter academics constructions of the rural as a *single all encompassing definition, and yet I have imposed* my own definition here through my initial selection of regions. There is no obvious way to get around such a contradiction. I proceeded then, acknowledging the contradiction and aiming to establish how the populations in each area experienced rural life, and their understanding of rurality *per se*.

I do not suggest that either British area is particularly representative of rural Britain, nor representative of their own particular area. However I intend to explore the local specificity of each area within the study and yet compare the two very different local cultures. With regard to the New Zealand study area, I hope to be able to compare and contrast constructions of rurality and the levels and nature of substance use there. I hope to use the work there as a form of commentary upon my British fieldwork, and vice versa. In Figures 4.2 and Figure 4.3 maps illustrate the location of each of the villages[14].

[13]Later in this chapter I will return to this notion of power within the research process and how this effects the research procedure.
[14] Further details of the villages of study can be seen in Appendix One.

Figure 4.1. A map of Britain showing the location of the regions of study.

Figure 4.2 Map of New Zealand showing the location of the research region.



4.5 Gaining access: rhetoric and reality.

Access to research subjects determines the success of the research project. Burgess (1984 :45) suggests that access "influences the ways in which those who are to be researched define [both] the research and the activities of the researcher". How, and who we access, often determines the nature and content of our results and without our subjects our research aims are futile. Access to our subjects is therefore a crucial aspect of the research process.

In Britain I contacted local Drug Services within each of the areas I wished to study. This gave me an initial contact into each area and a means of gathering data on drug use in the area to contextualise my study with. I was given contact names and addresses in about eight villages which I followed up, sending each a copy of my research proposal and how I intended to carry out the work. I was impressed at the positive response I received from the youth service and their genuine interest in my research. This was helped by the fact that drug use is a highly topical subject, and because I had experience of working both with young people and drug users. I selected two villages In Yorkshire which I felt would provide me with the greatest insight into the lives of rural youth. One (Village Y1) was close to two large towns and the other (Village Y2) was 10 miles from the nearest town. I therefore had access to youth who in a small geographical area lived out different ruralities[15].

I arranged with the youth workers that I would work on a voluntary basis in their youth centres on a weekly basis to ensure that I got to know the young people and build up a degree of trust with them. After this, I asked individuals if they would be interviewed by me, or would they participate in a focus group discussion. It was essential that I was a constant part of the group for the whole period of my stay so that the young people were not suspicious of my intentions, and were assured that I would not pass their names over to the police or other figures of authority.

[15]I decided not to name the villages I studied and so they will be referred to as Villages Y1, Y2, H1, H2, H3, NZ1 throughout this thesis.

Initially the young people were suspicious about me and curious that a Southerner would be working there. I was catgorised by some as a 'teacher', 'police informer' and other individuals of authority, and it took some time for them to trust me and believe that I was a student. This may have been intensified by my role as a youth worker. If I had simply visited the youth centres to carry out research this could have been avoided but I would have been unable to build up trust with the young people. My accent provided a source of amusement too, and I felt that initially was reflected in the young people's resentment of me, I was an outsider to them because I was a Southerner and also because I did not live in the village. I choose here to acknowledge these feelings of being 'outside' the research group because I was aware that it reflected upon my attitude towards the young people in the first period of fieldwork. The barriers that existed between the young people and myself took time to break down. My presence in their weekly meetings *and my participation in their activities helped with the process of* familiarisation[16]. An extract from my fieldwork diary from Yorkshire suggests that as the weeks progressed I became more accepted by the group;

> *November 1996.*
> *I played pool with Emma and some of the other girls tonight. I had not wanted to play for fear of making a fool of myself, my ability at pool is not that great. It was however this 'making a fool of myself' process which helped them to accept me. Through joining in and laughing at myself with them we had common ground and I was at once in their eyes on their level rather than above them.*

Because I was willing to meet them at their level, and because I was of a similar age, (and acted 'young') I was able to gain trust and become accepted by them. I was aware of the clothes I wore, the language I used and my attitude towards them as individuals affected the way in which the research was received. I typically wore casual clothing, and tailored my appearance and language so as not to stand out from those that I studied (Babbie 1992).

[16]At some points this involved playing football with a group of young men, at others it was talking to young girls about fashion, music and relationships. I felt that my honesty and ability to relate to them without being patronising was an essential part of succeeding in gaining their trust.

I also participated in their social activities to reduce the barriers between us. I noted in my diary from Hertfordshire that I felt I would have been more easily accepted had I been a smoker;

> *December 1996.*
> *It would have helped the interview process if I smoked, but my dress and how I sat within the room appeared to make them feel less intimidated.*

I carried out a focus group with a group of 8 young people on four occasions in Village Y1. This proved successful although for some young people I felt it was a stressful situation, feeling awkward when disagreeing with group ideas or opinions. I noted one girl, aged 16 who had never tried any drugs and disagreed with the use of them for any reason. When stating these opinions she seemed uncomfortable and almost embarrassed and blushed. I questioned the validity of some of the other respondents who may have not expressed their attitudes for fear of group reprisal.

Focus groups were not possible in Village Y2 because gaining their trust took longer and there was little interest on their part to participate. I felt this reflected the village community as a whole. Village Y2 was much smaller, more remote and was a tight knit community. Participation in the discussion group by some individuals may well have been regarded by others as a betrayal of community trust, or group solidarity.

I interviewed a drugs counselor from Project 6, the nearest drugs centre to both villages, the youth workers from each village, the local police station drugs coordinator, the Head of West Yorkshire Police Drugs Divison. I also carried out an interview with a representative from the local residential rehabilitation centre. I approached members of the local Women's Institute as a means of gaining an adults perspective on the drug using habits of young people in their villages. Here I was met with disapproval it was seen as an issue which did not relate to their experiences of village life. I was

told they could be of no use to me[17]. The representatives I spoke with were skeptical about the validity of my research and the ease with which I would get people to speak about it. I also interviewed an adult member of another village who gave me some detailed contextualisation material on the use of drugs by both adults and young people in the Yorkshire Dales as a whole.

In Hertfordshire a similar pattern of access was followed. I was again fortunate to gain access to three youth groups, two in rural villages (Villages H1 and H2) and one in a small rural town (H3) [18]. I again worked in the youth groups and was able to access 23 young people to interview, and I set up another focus group. Again the police, youth workers and drug workers were interviewed, and the research followed a similar pattern.

The research in New Zealand exhibited a number of differences. My first point of contact within the community was through a local Conservation Corps group[19] who were to form the basis of my research. There was again much mistrust and it was easier to talk to them as we carried out conservation work and write notes later rather than to carry out semi-structured interviews. I spent a lot of time with them, working with them and talking to them at every available moment. I was able to break down their barriers because I spent so much time with them, because I 'mucked in' and helped with their conservation work and because I played down my academic and social position whilst I was with them. By the last week of my fieldwork I was able to carry out four interviews with members of the group and talk to them as a whole about the issues of drug use. My research diversified in the later weeks of the fieldwork to incorporate members from

[17]This I felt was interesting as it reflected the theoretical notions that discourses of the rural often aspects of rural life.

[18]I actually approached this 'town' with an understanding that it was a village and was informed by the young people that it was indeed a town despite its lack of facilities and isolation from other urban areas.

[19] Conservation Corps are an organisation set up by the Ministry of Youth Affairs in Wellington to train unemployed young people in conservation skills. In Village NZ1 it is highly popular due to the high unemployment rates and involved mostly Maori youth.

the local school where I was able to carry out ten group and three individual interviews. Again the police and local organisations were contacted.

4.6 Interview strategy.

I felt that as drug use is an emotive and confidential topic that it necessitated the use of individual interviews wherever possible. I was aware that if I was to obtain any creditable data I had to ensure that the individuals felt their stories were being told in the strictest confidentiality, and that their peers or figures of authority would not be able to access the information. I did not wish to put the interviewees in difficult positions feeling obliged to answer questions posed by their peers or that would have put them under pressure to conform to the group consensus. Having said this some of the young people were suspicious of me and my intentions, and asked to be interviewed in pairs or threes, and this was made possible. A 'snow-balling' technique was used to gain access to adequate numbers of interviewees. I initially interviewed young females and then used their experiences to persuade the young men to participate as they were more sceptical[20].

A semi-structured interview was used for a number of reasons. I could not add to the fear of those I was interviewing by imposing an 'official' sounding interview on them. For young people in particular, such an approach would have only added to their mistrust of me, and would have also reinforced the power relations between myself and them which I was working so hard to eliminate. The semi-structured interview gave me an agenda or *aide memoir* (Burgess 1984) which could include topics and themes that I wanted to cover, but avoided the official nature of set questions. I asked initial questions on topics that I wanted to cover and then allowed the individuals to diversify and focus more on areas that they wanted to concentrate on. The interview was then to become a "conversation with purpose" (Webb and Webb cited in Burgess 1982 :107). Some of the individuals were quite

[20]This may have been a result of the fact that I was female and it was not good for their 'image' to be associated with me. I shall discuss the influence of my gender and age in the following section on research problems.

unresponsive and appeared to need more of a structure and thus I altered my approach to suit each individual asking some more structured questions than others[21].

The semi-structured interview I hoped, would allow the individuals to focus on the key issues of importance to them. As Donovan (1988, p191) suggests, in a successful interview the interviewer is not just there to ask questions, [s]he also needs to become;

> an active listener, building up a rapport with the informant. Expressions of interest in statements, encouraging gestures, probing questions and leading questions are all part of the repertoire of un and semi-structured interviewing.

This was made possible through my presence during their leisure time. I was able to build up a rapport with the young people and felt I became almost one of them, I was a part of their social group for the time I was there[22]. This was not so easy in New Zealand, I was always distanced from them racially and culturally and I was never able to break away from my 'outsider' status.

Each interview lasted approximately 30-40 minutes[23], and was recorded with the participants permission. I transcribed each interview fully afterwards. This recording of the data allowed me to listen to each participant and to respond fully to the answers they gave and I felt it allowed me to develop a clearer relationship with them as they spoke. It made the process less 'official' and more like a conversation, allowing me to take notes during the interview of things not necessarily related to the questions, but perhaps about the social context of the interview process itself. I could become more aware of the gestures, tone of voice, body language of each individual

[21]In Appendix Three a copy of the themes I discussed is shown.
[22]This itself has implications for the research process and will be discussed in detail in the section to follow on research ethics.
[23]This was a result of the young peoples levels of interest falling after this amount of time rather than my lack of topics to be covered.

and how I responded to them, as well as they to me. The young people seemed to almost forget the tape recorder was there and talked freely which I felt would not have happened if they had been aware of my frantic note taking, attempting to capture every word rather than simply some key aspects of the interview. In New Zealand where at times my research consisted of conversations and observations, my note taking had to be more discreet, I had to take brief notes on themes and ideas rather than quotes.

Focus groups or group discussions were set up with on average eight young people. Walker (1985b :55) suggests that "group interviews bring together small numbers of people to discuss topics on the research agenda", and it was my role to "facilitate a comprehensive exchange of views in which all participants [were] able to 'speak their minds' and respond to the ideas of others" (Walker 1985b :. I used this approach in order to allow the young people to think in more detail about some of the issues that had been covered in the individual interviews, and to allow them to respond to those who had different opinions. I was careful throughout the process not to allow my own thoughts and opinions to be revealed so that I could avoid directing their answers. Krippendorf (1980) suggests this is how one facilitates the emergence of "emic data" which grows out of the group discussion with little prompting from the researcher.

Despite these measures being taken I was concerned that the young people would be intimidated by each other and perhaps a form of 'peer pressure' evolved whereby they conformed with each other's ideas. There was little I could do to avoid this. I made each individual aware that information from each meeting was confidential and that group trust and a respect of others privacy was a condition of participation. One girl in Yorkshire stated that she had enjoyed the focus groups and that they had raised issues that she had not considered previously[24].

[24] It is essential to note that this may not simply be a positive thing and that for some of the young people making them think about some of these issues may have prompted further feelings of discontentment.

4.7 The field experience: problems and ethics.

Social relations in the field and the problems of researching social groups different to ones own are important aspects of the fieldwork process. I was aware that as an adult, from a middle class background, from the south of England I was to encounter initial problems in accessing the young people, especially when in the north of England. I had naively thought that once I had access to a group of young people the research would follow a natural path of its own. I soon realised that I had no right to insist upon their cooperation when it was their leisure time that I was encroaching on. It was essential that I gave to them as well as took from them. I became part of their group for the months that I lived in their area. I joined in their social activities, trusted them with details of my life etc. in order that they trusted me and felt able to tell me details of their lives.

Morgan (1996) suggests that drug users are a 'hidden population' who live in a wholly 'hidden world' which the researcher must attempt to unveil. This work is echoed by Fitzgerald (1996) who argues that this hidden population is precisely that, hidden, because it wishes to remain anonymous or separate from the rest of the world. Fitzgerald (1996) uses the work of Foucault (1977) to illustrate how the researcher attempts to get into the world of this hidden population through a 'gaze of power', that gaze being "a technology of power, by which the object of the gaze [in our case drug users] becomes known to the observer. This knowledge, codified and organised becomes a resource by which the observer develops both an expertise and a control over those s/he observes" (Fox 1993 :24). I had to carry out research that would allow me to get into the hidden worlds of the young people I studies and by 'gazing' at them I exercised a degree of power or control over them, and how they would be presented to the outside world. I had to make specific efforts to gain access to information about them and this proved difficult at times.

I was aware that I should not come across as aloof or patronising and I hope I came across as friendly and approachable, interested in their lives and what

I was aware that I should not come across as aloof or patronising and I hope I came across as friendly and approachable, interested in their lives and what they had to say rather than purely what I could gain from the research experience. I was critically aware of playing down my academic background and my class both when researching the young people and some of the adults. I wished to avoid making them feel intimidated by me, or that I was indeed patronising them. Hammersely and Atkinson (1983) term this 'impression management' and it was made easier for me to carry out because in terms of age I was not too far removed from the researched and could relate to them well.

This is often a two way relationship, with the researched reacting to the researcher in particular ways as well as the other way round. Cook and Crang conclude this well by suggesting that;

> researchers can also be placed by the people under study within numerous maps of meaning. How the researcher is made sense of, then, can often reveal aspects of how the world is understood by researcher and researched alike. (1995 :24)

I was aware that some of the young people were cautious about the language they used, and to a degree what they said. They were aware of the age difference more than I expected them to be, and it was hard to shake off the figure of authority label they initially assigned to me.

A practical issue I faced was the length of time that each interview lasted. I seemed incapable of getting more than a minority of the young people to talk for longer than 30 minutes, and for many the interview lasted only 20 minutes or so. They were easily bored by the procedure and this was evident in their behaviour. After a certain length of time they began to fidget, to fiddle with clothes and be distracted by things going on outside the room. I soon realised that the quality of information gained after this threshold had been reached was quite limited, and thus after the first initial interviews I structured the interview to last no longer than 30 minutes unless

an individual was particularly focused on the issues and talked in greater depth.

Interviewing was a sporadic experience, the interviews were rarely planned and some weeks I carried out only one, and yet others I would carry out four or five. It was difficult to plan at all as I had to fit in with their free time, their moods and their willingness to participate. It was harder to gain the trust of the males especially in Hertfordshire, they were quite wary of who I was and what my real intentions with the information was with the information I was accessing. And at times I felt quite intimidated by them and I often wondered how this reflected in how I carried out the research. This seemed strange to me away from the field, that I could experience a reversal in what would have been seen as the normal power relations in the field.

Even once they had agreed to carry out an interview problems emerged. It was often difficult to get them to talk freely about the issues I raised during the interview. Many responded with one word answers. On several occasions even after I had stopped the tape and told them to relax and chat freely as if we were having a conversation they appeared inhibited. Most of the young people 'warmed up' during the session and each sequential question was answered more freely. This I had expected and so my initial section of topics was based around the individuals home life, place of residence, parental occupations etc. to allow them to get used to the procedure, to me and to the tape recorder. I found it quite disheartening when interviewing those who were unresponsive. These feelings are best illustrated through a diary exert from Hertfordshire where I state;

> *February 1996.*
> *I finally managed to interview Kirsty[25] tonight her having agreed to it days before. The interview was quite disheartening though with her giving one word answers and seeming disinterested by the whole process. She was unnerved by me and also resentful of what I was*

[25] Names have been changed to keep the anonymity of the interviewees. Appendix Four gives a list of those I interviewed.

doing. I could sense that this would not be successful and wondered if her attitudes would alter the way in which I proceeded with further questions.

In Yorkshire I carried out street work on a Wednesday evening with an outreach youth worker. Here I was perceived as an outsider by the young people with whom I came into contact. I was undoubtedly 'posh', 'female', 'southern', and distinctly 'unfashionable', each of these labels being negative and the way in which I was received by the young people. After a few weeks I managed to find topics of conversation with which I could relate to these street wise youngsters, including music tastes and relationships. This in itself was quite unnerving for me and sequentially contributed to my personal 'geography of fear' which I have had to build into the written text. Within the research I had to accommodate many different groups in sometimes potentially fearful situations. The unpredictability of the research experience, and the confidential nature of the topic made the fieldwork harder than I had expected, but also rewarding.

This 'geography of fear' is often left unrecognised in the written research project. I choose here to acknowledge it because I felt that initially it altered the way in which I carried out the research. The young people in New Zealand had an immense mistrust of me, and I of them. It was difficult to find common ground compared with my British fieldsites. The feelings of difference between us emerged not only form our racial differences, (NZ1 is a community which is 85% Maori), but also because of my nationality, my gender, my age, my education and therefore my class. There was undoubtedly a gulf between us and I was initially unsure as to how this would change how I carried out the research. My diary from New Zealand illustrates these feelings of discomfort well;

Tuesday 14th October 1996.
They are suspicious of me and my intentions....but it will take time to break down the barriers I guess. I felt pretty scared or uncomfortable talking to them a lot of the time. I felt the resentment I could be met with from the community and it scared me....is it because I am in a predominantly Maori community that I feel

threatened, a feeling of difference I have never had to acknowledge before? or is it because of the cultural differences between us? How will this change my work.

These initial fears subsided after a while. I was however always the outsider in the community, known by everyone for who I was and what I was doing there. I felt this outsider status was magnified by both my whiteness and my Britishness. After all how often did a foreign student live and work in their community? The nature of the community, its closeness was almost insular and reflected not only the nature of rural society in New Zealand but the high percentage of Maori in the town. As I was to identify whilst I was there, the Maori population bases its ideas of community on closeness and communal activities. The success of Village NZ1 as a place relied heavily on this insularity, there was a need to belong and identify with the local group and outsiders were simply that, outsiders.

Another issue I faced was the representativeness of the group I had access to. I was concerned that by going through the youth service I would be accessing young people that were not a cross section of the whole population. Within the 'hidden population' I was accessing there would be further 'hidden populations' within that (Fitzgerald 1996). It had occurred to me that not all young people would use such facilities. I therefore ensured that my discussion groups were made up of members from the local school, who did not use the youth services but were residents of the village. There was no other way I could ensure that those I met with were indeed representative of the population. It is impossible to eradicate bias of this nature and it simply has to be written into the text how such bias could alter research findings.

Obviously there were other problems such as adverse weather conditions which prevented me attending some sessions. This affected the continuity of my presence but there was little I could do to avoid it. It was a result of researching in the Yorkshire Dales in December! Further to this my only problem occurred when three young girls from one of the youth centres in

Hertfordshire died, two in a traffic accident and one from an overdose[26]. This affected my ability to carry out my research on a number of occasions, and also meant I had to tailor my questions to each individual more than I had before to avoid subjects that would upset them in any way.

4.8 Research ethics.

I had considered the ethical issues surrounding my research from the earliest of stages. Seddack and Stanley (1992 :377-388) argue "investigators carry a responsibility to be sensitive to respondents and to the responsibility they shoulder as scientific researchers". Many details had to be fully considered, what questions would I ask?, how much do I tell the participants about my research and myself?, how, if at all will the participants benefit from the research?, would I be responsible for initiating or furthering any discontent they feel with their current situation? How close could I get to the young people without altering my research?

Once in the field I decided it was essential I was open about my intentions and my research if I was to gain their trust and receive accurate information from them. After all, if I lied to them about my research I was unlikely to get them to open up about a confidential topic such as drugs. At times I was aware that through the topics I raised I was making them think about issues they had simply not considered prior to this. I was therefore concerned about the effect my research would have on their lives.

Bulmer (1982) discuses the ethics of researching the powerful and the powerless. Young people are evidently a group who are constrained by their age and social position. I would suggest that they are powerless in many respects and I was aware of exploiting them as an 'other' for my research. As Cook and Crang (1995) argue, we must identify our own motives for carrying out the research after all "are we indulging in a heroic mission to "make the world a better place" for 'them', hoping to discover a

[26] This overdose was not concerned with illicit substances but prescribed drugs, but still had implications about how I carried out the research

'true' or new self via a detour through the 'Other'" (1995 :19). I was unsure as to my own motives for carrying out the research, was it stimulated by a desire to help, to change things, was this wrong, and could I expect to adequately identify their needs and the reality of the situation because of this? My own needs were fulfilled by this research, it was something I was strongly motivated to do because of the feelings I had about the subject area[27]. I had initially been motivated by a desire to 'make things better', to change things.

Throughout my research I have become aware of my own judgments and how they could have changed the way in which I carried out the research and how I responded to the data I received. I tried to get around this by building up a relationship with the researched, becoming their friend and participating in their activities, and I was genuinely interested in them as individuals and felt that I was able to reduce my own prejudices and judgments through doing this[28]. I allowed them to dictate what they focused upon in the interview and felt that through addressing negative aspects of their lives I was attempting to redress their perceived lack of power[29]. I was initially concerned that by being older than them I would immediately be placed in a position of power which would consequently reflect in the answers the young people gave me. I could not avoid this but felt that I related to them at their level and played down my 'adult role'.

Issues of the powerful researching the powerless come into play even more when considering the research in New Zealand. Here as a white face in a 'sea of brown' I was conscious of the interplay between the Pakeha and

[27] Initially I was concerned about young peoples use of drugs feeling it was wrong and indicative of a social problems rather than simply a leisure activity.
[28]This alone has ethical implications in terms of the academic distance I kept between myself and the researched and also in terms of how it would effect having built up a relationship with them and then leaving.
[29] This in itself was problematic. I carried out this research with the notion that substance use by young people was indeed problematic and therefore imposed my own feelings and opinions onto the research project. I was suggesting throughout my initial work that they were indeed a powerless group, and yet in many of the interviews I carried out I was made aware of their feelings of contentment with their current situations.

Maori populations within New Zealand. White feelings of dominance are consistently felt among much of the Maori population and whether they are real or not I was aware of the position of dominance I could be placed in by the researched regardless of my attitudes. It was ironic that my feelings of fear and insecurity stemmed from being 'different', from being the minority when I was perceived as the dominant role by those I studied. I sequentially played down my academic role, suggesting I was just doing a project rather than a thesis, and played down other aspects of my identity too which I felt would further their feelings of inferiority. I felt that my whiteness and indeed my own colourings within this further highlighted the differences between us. Cassell (1988) suggests that a researcher should "...adopt a role or identity that meshes with the values and behaviour of the group being studied, without seriously compromising the researcher's own values and behaviour.." (quoted in Cook and Crang 1995 :23). I felt that whilst in New Zealand in was harder to achieve this, the feelings of difference remaining throughout the research process.

There will always be issues surrounding cross-cultural communication and research and my thesis was not exempt from this (Metge and Kinloch (1978). Work by Teariki and Spoonley (1992) Stokes (1985, 1986) suggest that research into the lives of the Maori population brings with distinct questions of ethics and power. Teariki and Spoonley suggest that research into the Maori culture has been carried out since early European times but argue it is laden with issues of positionality and power. Te Awekotuku suggests;

> Research is the gathering of knowledge - more usually, not for its own sake, but for its use within a variety of applications. It is about control, resource allocation, information and equity. It is about power. (1991 :13)

Te Tawekotuku continues to argue that perhaps it is only Maori who have the right and the ability to research Maori issues and lives. Teariki and Spoonley (1992) identify four main areas of concern which centre around

research into Maori issues: firstly, research into Maori issues can be used as an exercise in control over the subordinate population. Secondly, used as a means of self interest rather than as a means of disseminating facts about Maori life. Thirdly, research into Maori often emphasises negative statistics about Maori and fails to provide solutions or alternative ways of doing things. Finally research into Maori lives has been consistently carried out by non-Maori and so it often believed that they are the only people capable of doing it. Stokes (1985) suggests that research should be carried out by Maori who would see practical use for the knowledge gained, who would be sensitive to the Maori world, the culture which places emphasis on the Kaumata, or elders, as a source of all knowledge. That research by Maori would regard knowledge as holistic and specific to places and people. That research by Maori would take into account issues of land and the treaties concerning that land), of culture and of education before, during and after the research was carried out.

Gale (1996) furthers these arguments and suggests that where geographers are concerned there is no such thing as one Maori geography and that research should emphasise the differences within and between Maori tribes and communities. Common characteristics do exist between groups such as language, reference to Ranginui and Papatuanuku with regard to the creation of the world, and the place of people within the world order. But although these common characteristics exist "specific groups may have their own interpretation of events, both historical and contemporary (Tutua-Nathan 1995)[30]. I was not fortunate enough to be of Maori origin and my research I am sure falls short of many of the requests of researchers such as Stokes (1985, 1986), but I was unaware of these issues prior to my visit to New Zealand and felt once there that I had simply to proceed and carry out the research with theses issues in mind.

[30] Ranginui is the Sky father and Papatuanuku the Earth Mother responsible for all creation.

Whilst studying the issue of drugs I have also been aware of placing myself in a questionable situation. The illegal nature of the substances the young people have been involved in taking has made my position difficult. Was I bound ethically to keep the trust I had ensured the participants of, or was I obliged to report the use of substances that I felt had become problematic in some way. I chose to keep that trust even when it was jokingly suggested by one police spokesman that I could be of immense use to him! This I felt was justified, after all it was again only my judgement that their use of substances was problematic. When in Yorkshire I came across a group of young women with whom I built up a good relationship. They all participated in individual interviews which were completed successfully whilst working 'on the street' with the outreach worker. One girl broke down during the interview and told me details of her life which put me in an awkward position. I had promised her confidentiality, yet had an obligation for her well being to break that confidentiality. I had been unprepared for a situation such as this and I was made aware of ethical implications of carrying out the research, building up trust with the young people and then leaving and similar feelings were felt in New Zealand.

Ethical considerations do not end once the fieldwork is complete. It is of equal importance how one represents those that are studied. The project of writing has been consistently overlooked in the past. The obliteration of the author and the process of textual construction and signification was previously an accepted component of authorship. It was believed that authors represented accurately what was really there. The text was an objective representation of reality. The author was separate from the text. Clifford (1984) suggests "the subjectivity of the author [was] separated from the objective referent of the text. At best, the authors personal voice [was] seen as a style in the weak sense: a tone, or embellishment of the facts" (1984 :13). Cook and Crang (1995) conclude;

> ..not only must the significance of the researchers' position and apparent intentions be considered but, also his /her responsibilities over how the people being researched will be represented in any

> account produced, how this will be circulated, and the impact this might have on their lives in the future.(1995 :16).

In the more recent post-structural writings, the construction of text has been regarded as embedded with the positionality of the author and as a subjective account of reality. Katz (1992 :495) suggests that how we represent our subjects results from "a serious play of power in an overlapping set of historically and geographically determined social fields". We construct the text within those fields, and should therefore recognise our own position whilst constructing our text. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) suggest the 'gaze' of the researcher must be placed in their own historical, social and cultural context. Text becomes discursively constructed by its reception as much as by its generation, by reading as well as by writing, and crucially by audience as well as by authorship (Keith 1992). Ethnographers therefore perhaps "create a social world (or worlds) rather than merely representing some independent reality" (Hammersley 1992 :45). It must also be noted that when research emerges from an academic background there may be conventions of language and narrative which have to be adhered to. Foucault (1973) suggests this results in the spectacle we research, being expressed in a closed world of words, open only to those who are initiated in that world. Through our choice of language we may further the 'otherness' or subordinate status of those we study.

Crang (1992) advocates the use of 'polyphony' in the construction of the written text incorporating the voices of those we research into the text. The polyvocal text gives voice to those we study and in some respects redresses the balance of power between the researcher and the researched. I intend to use this approach in my writing, reworking the problems of ethnographic authority, constructing a text which is mutivocal or "'polyphonic' in character" (Crang 1992 :527)[31].

[31] It cannot be denied however that the author still holds the power deciding which voices are heard.

I was also concerned about returning transcripts or sections of the text to the interviewees. Did I owe it to them to see what I felt their experiences said about wider societal issues. Was I bound ethically to see if they agreed with my representation of their experiences, after all I had said initially that I was to make the text polyphonic in nature, allowing their voices to be heard. If I allowed them to read and re-write parts of the text would their isolation or 'otherness' be furthered by what I had said? Indeed, by carrying out this research in the first place was I highlighting them as 'others', and therefore not reducing, but increasing their distinction and separateness from mainstream rural discourses? These ethical issues were considered throughout the research process and are addressed within the written text. There are no simple answers and we can only seek to adhere to what we deem as ethical as individual researchers.

4.9 Interpretation and validation strategies.

I argued earlier on the nature and content of ethnographic research and concluded that the data collected became "inherently partial - committed and incomplete" (Clifford 1984 :7). As Denzin and Lincoln conclude;

> There is no clear window into the life of an individual. Any gaze is always filtered through the lenses of language, gender, social class, race and ethnicity. There are no objective observations, only observations situated socially in the worlds of the observer and the observed. (1994 :12)

The researchers own positionality and the bias in the research process did not result in inadequate or unethical data, but as Clifford suggests, "once accepted and built into ethnographic art, a rigorous sense of partiality can be a source of representational tact" (Clifford 1984 :7). Throughout the research process I was aware of my positionality and was continually self-reflexive about how this altered the results I was obtaining. I accept that such reflexivity, and a recognition of both the partiality of the research process and my own positionality, does not give me a legitimate excuse for denying invalidation or for poor research. I would argue that the question becomes not one of objectivity or subjectivity but of the application of

scientific rigor to our research (Ley 1992). The solution becomes to identify our biases and assess their impact upon our subsequent representation of social reality. If this is done both during the fieldwork and as we write we can create what Haraway (1988) calls a "situated knowledge", which is subjectively objective.

It is with these issues in mind that I made the choice to write my methodology in the first person, to highlight that I was an integral part of the process, rather than trying ignore my involvement in this process. I do not wish to become self indulgent through the positioning of my research within a wider context of who I am, but feel I was an integral part of what I researched and this was reflected in how the results are relayed through the written text. This is of particular importance with a subject such as drug use where my own opinions and morals may have effected the way in which I carried out the research and interpreted the results. It is not a subject in which one can easily ignore personal opinions and thus I follow Cook and Crang's (1995) suggestion that the researcher can no longer be regarded as detached from the research process and so must write into the text his / her own personal position within that process.

Ethnography is more than simply a research method and dictates to a degree the nature of the interpretation work. As I argued earlier in this chapter, ethnography does not claim to uncover a universal truth or reality, but one truth and one form of reality among many others. It does not seek objectivity as defined by masculinist science and incorporates the voice of the researcher in the written text. Here then, I recognise my own authoritarial control in deciding how to analyse the text and whose voices shall be heard. The written text becomes one representation of reality and is therefore partial by definition.

Cook and Crang (1995) suggest a number of ways in which ethnographers can validate their work which differ from those used in other methodologies.

The first they term "Theoretical sampling", here what is required is not a sheer number of interviewees, nor their representativeness of a wider whole can be guaranteed, but quality and positionality of the information they can offer. Secondly, Cook and Crang suggest that it is impractical to attempt to give voice to all members of a group or society, and that what the researcher is required to do is to identify the "point of theoretical saturation" when discourses appear to repeat themselves. Then the researcher should begin analysis or move to a differently positioned group. Thirdly, the ethnographer should seek "theoretical adequacy" in their work, understanding the various contexts of the study and its similarities and differences with others, situating the work within a wider theoretical context (1995 :11). Through such validation Cook and Crang (1995) suggest that the partiality of ethnographic research becomes a source of strength rather than weakness. I have attempted to adhere to these points of validation whilst carrying out the research and also whilst analysing and writing.

The interpretation of qualitative data evidently throws up a number of questions. These have been variously studied by researcher such as Fairclough (1992, 1995) and Jones (1987) who suggest that how we represent the subjects of our research is mediated through the process of interpretation and analysis. Interpretation is not a detached process, just as I decided upon my subject matter, my research areas and my methods of data collection, I too was wholly involved in deciphering which issues were given time and space within this thesis. I accept that through my own processes of interpretation I am likely to create and analyse details that may not have originally been obvious to either the researched or to myself, and indeed may have focused attention on some details whilst disregarding others. Interpretation is a wholly personal experience. I was aware during the interviews of being prompted by some of the response that the young people gave me, that I was consciously paying greater attention to some of their responses than others. I came into the interview with my own agenda, and the research subjects did too. They as individuals may have presented

only their public face to me avoiding any questions or issues that would have required me to see the more private side of their personalities. I had no way of knowing what degree of detail I was obtaining apart from my own analysis of the relationship I held with them, their behaviour, attitudes and body language during the interview, before and after. It was essential that I understood the world of the research subjects as they constructed, not simply as I perceived it to be (S Jones 1985b :56). Doing this involved being aware of things that the research subjects did not say, or did not refer to as much as themes central to their conversations.

My interpretation strategy was therefore as follows. Having transcribed fully each interview I familiarised myself with the content of each interview alongside reading my field notes which again gave me an insight into the rapport I held with each interviewee. During this process I highlighted on the transcripts themes that were reoccurring or that were of interest to me, I used a code system here which would allow a simpler collation at a later date. I made notes on the key themes and how they linked together with others. The process was a critical stage in the thesis, after all as Cook and Crang (1995) highlight;

> ..the process of analysis is...not a matter of developing a definitive account but of trying to find a means to understand the inter-relations of multiple versions of reality - not least of all. that of the academy - so that it serves to stress the inter-connectivities...(1995 :72).

For each theme I compiled sections of text which came from the interviews. I was aware to note those that did not fit in with the ideas that were seen to be the most 'common' as well as those that were regularly referred to by the young people. I needed to establish where on the line of the research process did each theme emerge. Was it from my initial choice of subject matter or the preliminary reading and research? Was it initiated by particular research subjects in particular areas? Did they stem from other questions which were more fundamental to the research topic? Having considered these issues it seemed more appropriate to simply proceed recognising that

these issues are of importance and that I may have, through focusing attention on some issues closed off other equally important themes.

Once I had discovered the main themes emerging from the discourses of the young people there I was able to interpret the conversations in more depth establishing which I felt were exaggerated stories, which reflected reality and the reasons behind these distinctions. Once the main areas of interest were established I was able to structure the chapters which would contain these themes. The reality was that much of my interpretation was guided by the discourses emerging from the interviews and that it was informed by the theories of discourse analysis. Here I followed the work of Fairclough (1992, 1995) who advocates that the three dimensions of discourses, text, discursive practice and social practice, should be incorporated into the interpretation of data. Here what occurs is that the text is analysed within a broader set of theoretical and social settings which may make the content of the text more or less significant to the research project.

What results is an interpretation strategy which is both comprehensive and varied and the resulting text can be analysed within a wider context. As I argued earlier the final demand must be that the text is polyphonic in nature weaving in the voices of the researched into the written text.

The remainder of the thesis aims to put the concepts, ideas and theories of the first four chapters into practice, using the empirical evidence to discuss the extent and nature of rural drug use by young people in the three areas of study. Chapters Five, Six and Seven are based on the empirical work and each one has a theme or subject which it focuses on and these were decided by responses that I had from the interviews. Chapter Five, places attention on the extent and nature of drug use in the three areas and forms the quantitative part of the thesis. Here spatial and social stereotypes surrounding drug use will be brought into question through evidence from the fieldwork. Chapter Six regards the spatial patterns of drug use, both

supply and consumption, within the villages themselves and questions ideas of boundaries and territorialisation as created and sustained by the young people themselves. Chapter Seven returns to the ideas from Chapter Three, and asks if one pattern of youth drug use exists across Britain, or whether rurality does still play an integral role in determining patterns of use and associated behaviour.

Chapter Five

Drug use and rurality.

5.1 Introduction.

The purpose of this chapter is to begin to draw together ideas from the theoretical chapters and link them with some of the themes emerging from the empirical work. Here focus will be placed on the nature of drug[1] use in the three areas I studied, the extent of such use, the types of substances involved, their frequency of use, and the social groupings of the young people involved in the drugs scene. Throughout this chapter I shall identify how drug use is not specific to class, gender, age or race, but is widespread and extensive in the rural environments I studied.

In the first section of this chapter I shall briefly revisit concepts from the theoretical chapters drawing together ideas from both the British and New Zealand fieldsites and establishing how ideas relating to rural drug use have been routinely spatialised and affiliated with certain sectors of the population. Later in the chapter these ideas will be challenged by referring to the empirical work carried out in each of the field sites. What will emerge is an analysis of the rural experiences of drug use and how, if at all, this is affected by local characteristics as opposed to more national or indeed international patterns of drug use.

5.2 The spatialisation of drug use in Britain and New Zealand.

In Chapter One the idealisation of the rural in British culture was identified. It was suggested there that rural Britain has systematically been viewed as a utopian living environment. Rural areas, as healthy, happy communities living in harmony with one another and the surrounding countryside, have come to signify social standing and prestige as much as a way of life and geographical area. Rural Britain is no longer defined purely by its economic base, but by the presence, or indeed in some cases, perceived absence, of

[1]As addressed in Chapter Four the use of the term 'drug' is problematic. Here I use it to refer to because of its use in public and academic discourses.

certain groups of the population and phenomenon. Drug users are one such group. Sibley (1995) suggests there is a cultural purification of space within rural areas whereby they are contrasted with images of the 'defiled city' (1995 :64). The rural as a sanitised landscape becomes somewhat detached from any sense of material reality and forms boundaries of inclusion and exclusion for certain groups both discursively and experientially.

As suggested in Chapter One through this cultural purification of space there is a dialectical switch of the problems of modern life onto the urban environment. Substance use, as one example, is consistently denied as an aspect of contemporary rural Britain. Drug use in Britain is consistently spatialised onto the urban arena, or is highlighted in a rural context emphasising its difference or separateness to the urban drugs culture.

Rural spaces are not only seen as free from social problems, but are also thought to be populated by those who reflect the nature of their environment. In this instance the country becomes populated by the pure and the city by the defiled. What results is that powerless groups in those environments become conceptualised as an 'other' or outsider and are excluded, both physically and discursively, from the dominant senses of belonging to that environment. Groups associated with drug use in rural areas, as one example, have evolved as "discrepant others", and have become located on the margins or in residual spaces and social categories of the rural environment, as well as in rural discourses They become the imperfect people, an 'other' of rural society (Sibley 1995 :69,107).

Through this drug use in rural Britain often remains unrecognised and those involved in the scene are disregarded or excluded from discursive representations of rural life. Later in this chapter I shall identify the degree to which drug use is an integral facet of rural life and how the young people involved consistently hide this activity presenting a side of themselves which is acceptable to the community. Rurality can retain its homogenous image of

purity and systematically deny the existence of difference within its boundaries. Local characteristics of each population influence how this process is worked through, and one would expect to see differences between rural areas because of this.

In New Zealand the pastoral myth exhibits some differences. Here, the 'rural idyll'[2] stemmed from early colonisation when disillusioned British people emigrating sought a better quality of life, far removed from the industrialised urban reality of Victorian Britain. Migrants took with them a set of appropriate social values and adapted them to their new environment, drawing on the culture and mythologies from Victorian England. When British landscapes no longer fulfilled the arcadian dream they became sequentially mapped onto the colonial landscape. New Zealand's identity was derived from an expansion of British cities and structurally it became "part of Britain's rural hinterland" occupying a space in the imagination of British settlers given by the culture from which they came (Perry 1994 :47).

New Zealand took on board British ideas of the cultural supremacy of rural areas, and as recognised in Chapter One notions of a 'rural idyll' pervaded social and cultural constructions of rurality there too. Here the nostalgia for a rurality structured around the activities and values of an agricultural society is not implausible. The economy of rural New Zealand has until recently rested wholly upon agriculture, and an idealised rural New Zealand as the essence of national culture can therefore resist being defined as escapist or nostalgic more than its British counterpart.

New Zealand society however differs from its colonial counterparts. Until recent decades rural New Zealand has been largely populated by Maori, whose affiliation to the land stems beyond its economic role to a cultural and moral attachment to nature. For the Pakeha population, social standing is

[2]It must be noted that there is much debate as to whether New Zealanders hold their rural areas in as high esteem as the British. I would suggest not, but that some idealisation still pervades academic and public discourses of the rural.

not dependent upon the rural as a place of residence. In contrast social status has often been associated with urban rather than rural lifestyles. This has started to change for Maori too, as in recent years, rural areas have failed to provide the structure and community that once flourished there for them. For both Pakeha and Maori, the opportunities for employment and leisure are also often outweighed by their urban counterparts. Rural areas as idealised landscapes in which to live become increasingly debatable. As identified in Chapter One there is almost a reversal in the idealisation of particular environments in New Zealand in comparison to what is happening in Britain. Rurality, I suggested has become an environment to escape from, rather than one to aspire to.

Without such a dominant rural idyll in New Zealand, there is greater acceptance of the shortcomings of rural life. Poverty, social and cultural marginalisation and indeed substance use are variously identified and undisputed as integral aspects of rural society. Substance use takes on board a whole new identity, being associated with nature and rurality as places of both supply[3] and consumption rather than spaces in which it does not occur. Again there is a sequential mapping of substance use cultures onto the physical landscape but one which is the reverse of the British. In New Zealand although drug use is an accepted as part of rural culture, the nature of that substance use is still regarded in a highly specific way and seen as involving only certain groups of the population. Again the local characteristics of each area have an *influential impact upon the way in which* this process is worked through.

The manner in which rural society is regarded in Britain and New Zealand consequently has implications as to whether certain phenomena are accepted as integral to the rural environment or not. This spatial mapping furthers stereotypes and generalisations, both concerning the presence of substance use and the nature of it. These generalisations extend beyond the spatial

[3]These ideas of supply and consumption will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six.

boundaries of country life to refer also to the social groups believed to be involved. Substance use takes on board distinct social, cultural, racial, class and gender characteristics; something with which certain groups will demonstrate a greater affiliation for than others. In the following section these social stereotypes will be discussed, representing the myths which systematically overlook many drug users.

5.3 Social stereotypes of 'drug' users in Britain and New Zealand.

Drug use is not regarded as something which the average person is likely to become involved in. Its illegal status prevents the majority of law abiding citizens from participating in it and the associated social and cultural activities. Those thought to be involved are classified into categories which form the basis of the stereotypes which pervade many discourses of drug use. Such stereotypes are produced and reproduced by the media and other forms of popular culture and are taken to represent real life. In Britain this is best illustrated through referring to media representations of drug use. In Chapter One I referred to Irvine Welsh's "Trainspotting" (1993) which I argued exemplifies the perception of substance use as associated with 'hard drugs', used in an abusive manner often as a form of escapism from economic and social deprivation. Media and literature based representations of substance use focus this stereotype onto the urban environment, a spatial pattern demonstrated by certain groups of the population. In particular, a class or income based generalisation such as this suggests that for some groups of the population the use of 'designer drugs' is beyond their means, either financially or culturally or both[4]. This stereotype implies higher income groups have both the financial and social networks which facilitate their use of the more expensive drugs and which often require particular social settings too. Where drug use is recognised in a rural context these 'class' based generalisations are applied, and the way in which drug use is experienced in each area becomes related to the social characteristics of the

[4]I use the term class here in the broadest sense of the word implying particular economic and social aspects of certain groups of the population.

population there. In Yorkshire during my fieldwork it was suggested to me by a local police officer that;

> there is a perception with people that it is still an inner city problem associated with deprivation, low prospects, low self esteem.....but there is more and more evidence of people in leafy suburbs taking drugs, not through despair or low self esteem. (Henegan 1996).

In the same way that social class or income can be seen as integral to the stereotypes surrounding drug users so to do characteristics such as age, gender and ethnicity. In Britain drug use is assigned to those in their late teens and early twenties. It is not an activity which the young are thought to participate in, nor those who are old enough to have social and financial responsibilities such as regular employment, a home or a family. Most young people are unable to participate in recreational based activities such as nightclubbing (where many of the designer drugs are taken) because of their age and financial restrictions, or have yet to feel the misery and desperation of economic deprivation. Use of drugs for the younger population would seem limited if it were associated with these two activities alone, but as I shall illustrate throughout this chapter the use of drugs can be much more of a day to day occurrence which is not necessarily confined to particular social groups or activities. It is something which can be seen to appeal to a wide variety of individuals and therefore other factors such as the local cultural characteristics may play a more important role in the decision making process to take drugs than the specific social characteristics of individuals. In addition generalisations focus on drug use as a predominantly male activity and gender the discourses of drug use that emerge from this. It is often seen as an expression of masculinity, an activity in which females do not so regularly participate.

Similar stereotypes occur in the New Zealand case, whereby certain social groups have been assigned the labels associating them with drug use, and other groups remain free from such links. Class or income related differences are highly distinct within New Zealand. There, drug use is

perceived as an activity for the criminally minded, the deprived and the desperate. Media reports and other representations of drug use specialise in associating drug use with crime[5]. Drug use has yet to diversify and become an expression of social and cultural style, and 'designer drugs' have not been popularised in the same way that they have in Britain. Lower income groups therefore dominate discourses of drug use in New Zealand. Higher income groups are thought to find social and cultural gratification through more 'conventional' sources of entertainment such as sport, music and alcohol. Drug use is not consistently associated with higher income groups certainly within media sources. Age and gender stereotypes follow the British patterns too, where young adult males are thought to dominate the drugs scene. Female use becomes seen as doubly deviant, both as a disregard for gender specific social and cultural norms and also those associated with the illegal nature of drugs.

The ethnic structure of New Zealand reinforces many of the stereotypes I recognise above. The Maori are a strongly patriarchal society believing fully in the traditional roles of men and women. For them, the use of drugs by women would be a denial or rejection of their culture as well as breaking the law. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six the Maori are associated with the growth as much as the consumption of marijuana and discourses of drug use reflect this[6].

It can be seen from the above that discursively both Britain and New Zealand associate drug use with certain sectors of the population. Stereotypes such as this pervade media, literature and public sources of information and I would suggest they are often employed in an attempt to reduce the fear that the general population feel towards the future of the drugs culture[7]. Prior to the research I was aware that drug use was not class, gender, age or race

[5]In Chapter One examples of this type of news report are shown.
[6]Here I do not suggest that this is my perception of the situation but that for much of the New Zealand population there is an understanding that this is indeed reality.
[7]By this I refer to a 'drugs revolution' which many extreme groups have suggested will occur in Britain in future decades.

specific in whom it attracted. I felt that for many it was more of a day to day experience and one which was affected deeply by more local social relations than by socio-cultural characteristics of the population. Drug use I felt was a lived experience for the young people of rural areas not simply something that was associated with urban life and culture.

In the following sections of this chapter evidence will be used from my empirical work to illustrate the extent and nature of drug use in the three areas I studied. Through this the local characteristics of the drugs cultures will be identified and some of the stereotypes identified above will be deconstructed.

5.4 The spatiality of drug use.

Three areas were studied within this thesis. It was hoped that each area would demonstrate the presence and nature of drug use in rural locations, and that from this an understanding of national and international patterns of use could be ascertained. Each young person was interviewed about the nature of this drug use, both their own personal use and the use by their peers. I focused on the substances used, the frequency of use and their perceptions about the problematic of drug use[8]. In this section the quantitative data on the presence of drug use will be identified and analysed with respect to the geographical location in which it is placed. I will draw substantially from the interviews to illustrate the main themes I feel emerge from this section of the research.

When the research commenced in Yorkshire in November 1995, I was unaware of many of the cultural differences between rural areas in the north and south of England. My only understanding was that the north would suffer from geographical and cultural marginalisation compared to its southern counterparts. I felt northern Britain would take longer to experience many of the social and cultural movements emerging in London

[8]In Appendix Three a copy of the themes talked about during each 'interview' can be seen.

and its surrounding areas and that drug use there would therefore exhibit quite local characteristics. Substantial differences were therefore expected between the fieldsites in Yorkshire and Hertfordshire. The main difference I felt would be evident in a lack of commitment to the designer drugs scene in the more peripheral northern areas. I felt that this type of cultural activity may not have infiltrated into the culture of rural Yorkshire and that drug use there would be more 'dated' because of the geographical separateness from the south.

After moving to the Yorkshire Dales I was soon aware that many of my preconceptions were unjustified. The drugs scene was in no respect retrograde in comparison to southern England. Geographical marginalisation appeared to play a minimal role in affecting the social and cultural lives of those living in these more 'remote' areas. Rural Yorkshire demonstrated a high level of involvement by its young people in the drugs scene. They seemed unaffected by minor frustrations concerned with their location, and indeed in many respects simply built their inaccessibility into the time frame with which they obtained and consumed each substance.

I had expected Hertfordshire to demonstrate higher levels of use than in Yorkshire due to its proximity to large conurbations, and indeed to London. This was found to be true to some extent. There was a greater level of participation in two out of the three villages in Hertfordshire compared with those in Yorkshire. This use was higher in terms of all substances and also when alcohol and tobacco were not included.

When talking to the young people I was given an indication by them of what substances were being used within their peer groups and although the validity of their answers was questionable it was a numeric indication of the extent of use that I could obtain from them. In Table 5.1 these figures are illustrated for the rural areas in Britain. I separated alcohol and tobacco from the other substances in the analysis because I felt from talking to the young people that

this categorisation was in fact how they saw the division between the groups of substances. I grouped together alcohol and tobacco because the young people talked about them as similar substances.

Table 5.1 Levels of participation in the drugs scene in Yorkshire and Hertfordshire among the young people questioned.

Village in question.	Number in each village recognising that substances were used in the village.	Number in each village recognising substance use not including alcohol and tobacco.
Village Y1. (16 questioned)	13	8
Village Y2 (10 questioned)	7	6
Village H1 13 questioned)	12	8
Village H2 (7 questioned)	6	5
Village H3. (4 questioned)	3	0

In Table 5.1 it can be seen how the young people were able to give evidence as to the presence of drug use in their rural areas both with regard to alcohol and tobacco and to other substances. Many of the young people talked about drug use in general terms with respect to what was happening in their peer groups, and did not refer to their own use or to particular examples of others. Other young people were more open and supplanted the information about general use with stories of their own use. Drug use was common, but it was by no means something that they all participated in. In the following extracts from the interviews some of these ideas are expressed. Paul talks

about how for some young people drugs were a central focus and for others it was not. Nicola and Jon both argue that drug use was something that the majority of young people participated in.

> For some people, those that come out at night and all they can think about is getting stoned, but you can have a laugh without getting stoned, I mean there's a higher proportion of the time that I am not taking drugs that I still have a laugh, you don't need drugs to have a laugh, but some people can think I suppose. [Paul aged 14 years Village Y2].

> Me personally whizz speed or whatever you call it, acid trips cannabis and drinking if you take that to be drugs. People my age that I know have done pills like ecstasy pills somebody a bit older than me that I know has done cocaine and that they do cannabis and acid and that. [Nicola aged 15 years Village H1].

> Liz - DO YOU KNOW PEOPLE OF YOUR AGE OR OLDER WHO TAKE DRUGS?
> Jon [aged 12 years Village Y1] - Yes people in my class.
> SO DO THINK ITS QUITE COMMON PEOPLE OF YOU AGE GROUP USING DRUGS, OR IS IT JUST A FEW?
> A few only about 3 or 4 in my class of 27.
> WHAT DRUGS DO THEY USE?
> I don't know really, they don't say. Draw mainly. But they smoke loads of them smoke, nearly all of them smoke in my class.

The presence of drug use in rural areas was however always compared to urban experiences of drug use. It was always more or less of a problem, or different, or the same, rather than being thought of in its own right. Richard from Yorkshire was shocked that I could even suggest that drug use did not exist in rural areas. He contrasted ideas of rural perfection with the high levels of drug use he saw daily. Rural areas, he felt, were often more likely to experience drug use because it held limitations in terms of what it could offer them as a group of young people;

> Well first of all I think ...well there is obviously not as much chance to get hold of drugs in the village but sometimes there is possibly more of it because you get so bored that they will think I will do this, this weekend just to keep me occupied instead of going in at 9pm 10pm 11pm on a Friday and Saturday night. So there is still a lot of drugs going on..... when you get into the teenager years you get bored and

> you want to go out and most people around here end up doing something [a drug] at the weekend. [Richard aged 16 Village Y1].

For many of the young people I spoke to, drug use was often worse in a village context because they had close communities and if one individual became involved, it was likely that they all did. Their understanding of place and its effect upon their lifestyles was quite detailed. Local place relations here played a dominant role in the decision making process to take drugs or not. Ben from Village H1 talked at depth about village drug use and his knowledge of the situation not just in his own village but in other surrounding villages. He states;

> I have found with villages that sometimes its worse because it is close knit. But there is less to do, but there is this you know everyone and you know certain people you can access or whatever you can hide. And you are much more bigger groups in a village and you all stick together of course, if you are a big group and one person brings something into the group you will all latch onto that. In the towns and cities there are groups and gangs but they are much more widespread. There is a lot of drug use in villages, but it doesn't make any difference to me really. [Ben aged 16 Village H1).

In New Zealand evidence of the levels of drug use was harder to quantify. The nature of the questioning ensured that I was given an impression rather than actual figures by many of the young people[9]. I was given a detailed impression of the nature of that drug use rather than simply a number. The young people here talked much more vaguely about drug use I did not persist with more detailed questioning because I was aware that it would be met with much resentment. My own impression would be that out of the 28 young people I spoke to about 18 had tried a substance (not including alcohol and tobacco). Here they talked more in terms of what the peer group was involved in rather than their own use. There was a greater level of mistrust among the young people about my own intentions whilst I was there, and I felt this was reflected in the way they spoke of drug use in a

[9]This resulted from the changes I had to make to the initial methodology used in Yorkshire and Hertfordshire. I was unable to use any direct line of questioning in New Zealand and had to ask more generally.

more abstract and general way. They always used words like 'they' or phrases such as 'they do', 'the drug users' or 'those who do it'. Drug use was never referred to as something a particular individual was involved with, nor was it something they would readily admit to.

I discussed earlier my expectation that the population of rural New Zealand would exhibit minimal participation in the drugs scene. This was indeed only my perception, and many of the New Zealanders I spoke with felt that there was in fact a recognition by most people that rural areas of New Zealand were prime targets for both the growth and consumption of particular drugs. The responses I obtained from the young people when questioned about the perceived lack of rural drug use, illustrated this well. In Village NZ1 Nick talked in detail about the country and the city exhibiting differences in their experiences of drugs. For him the country allowed a more relaxed use of drugs and was therefore likely to demonstrate this in the number who were involved;

> I think that a lot of smoking [marijuana] goes on in the country in these little country towns compared to what happens in the city. Because in the country its not that easy to get caught and its sort of like a rush around the city, you've got to be alert always and you can't have a proper buzz in the city because you are always panicking or you're nervous or jumpy. [Nick aged 20 Village NZ1].

This view was common among many of the individuals in Village NZ1. Tanya suggested there was no difference between rural and urban populations in how they experienced social phenomena such as drug use. To her drugs happened everywhere;

> The countryside has drugs...everywhere has drugs, there are drugs everywhere in New Zealand. The countryside what do you mean?.....there's drugs everywhere, here down the coast and in a lot of countryland in bush and in forests and shrubs that is where everyone grows their plantations. So drugs is everywhere it doesn't matter where you go its always there..... [Tanya aged 19 Village NZ1].

The idea of rural areas as problem-free was dismissed by many of the young people in New Zealand. They qualified their statements by suggesting that

the drug problem was in fact worse in the countryside than in the cities and towns. This perception of severity often only referred to the use of cannabis which was more common because it was grown in the rural areas. Emily claimed "in the countryside they more or less do drugs all the time, grow it on the hill and have heaps of other [social] problems here." [Emily aged 17 Village NZ1].

There was an understanding that drug use was as much a part of rural life as it was a part of urban life, and that the reason it was perceived as an urban issue was the sheer size and visibility of the urban population. Differences between the two populations emerged in the reasons behind the use of drugs. Catherine said;

> I think because there are more people in the city, that people think that more people in the city use it but in terms of percentage it would be the same ratio. I think in the city they will do it for more reasons than us, probably more attention and stuff. [Catherine aged 16 Village NZ1].

Drug use was present in all the rural areas I studied, and the particular location of each appeared to influence only marginally the nature of that drug use. In Britain the proximity to London did not appear to increase the likelihood of an individual's participation to any significant degree, although there did appear to be higher use in Hertfordshire than in Yorkshire. The rural areas in which I carried out the research were not marginalised from the drugs scene in any way. In fact in New Zealand any marginalisation appeared to facilitate the use of certain drugs where rural areas were less strictly surveyed by the police. In terms of the simple presence of drug use by young people, geographical location seemed to have little effect and local characteristics seemed to only marginally affect the way in which that culture emerged and developed. What was significant however was its presence *per se*. The power of rural discourses to idealise the rural occurs at such that they have overridden any understanding that drug use exists, seem strongly questionable. The reality however was that drug use is evidently an integral feature of rural life.

5.5 Substances used in the rural drugs scene.

Once the presence of drug use among the young people had been established it became essential to gain further understanding about the nature of that drug use. This formed the second strand of questioning and focused on what substances were being used and the frequency of such use. I was interested to establish whether the choice of substances was influenced by geographical location Would geographical proximity to major urban areas facilitate the availability of substances and therefore the frequency to which they were used?

In each village I questioned the presence of a variety of substances, relying not simply on an individuals own experience of using that substance, but also whether or not it was known to be used by others in the village too. In each interviewing session whether group or individual, the percentage of young people stating that a particular substance was used in the village was noted. Table 5.2 below illustrates the popularity of each substance in each village[10]. For each substance the percentage refers to the number of individuals who thought each substance was being used in their village. Alcohol and tobacco were not included in this data as many of the young people did not talk about it when I questioned them on the drugs being used. To the majority of young people it was obviously not viewed as a drug. Many of the young people were more comfortable talking generally about what substances were used within the village *rather than what they used themselves and it became* easier for me to question them in a more general sense and allow them to elaborate if they chose to. I felt I was more likely to gain accurate data in this way if it was their choice to talk about personal use rather than through my line of questioning.

[10]Percentages are used here despite the low numbers of young people questioned in each area because I felt it allowed greater comparison between the areas when looking at them initially.

Table 5.2 The percentage of young people recognising the use of substances within their village.

Village	Y1	Y2	H1	H2	H3	NZ1
Cannabis	81	70	100	57	75	86
Ecstasy	43	40	46	42	25	7
LSD	43	40	53	29	25	52
Speed	31	30	30	57	0	3
Cocaine	6	10	15	43	0	3
Heroin	13	20	0	29	0	7
Glues and Solvents	0	30	8	29	0	3
Poppers	13	20	0	29	0	7
Magic Mushrooms	0	30	15	0	0	7
Other	6	0	0	0	0	0

Cannabis was the most 'popular' substance, used (not including alcohol and tobacco) in all the villages. Here the young people's understanding of cannabis as a drug was interesting. They did not see it as harmful or something which could threaten their well being, but as something which was cheaper than alcohol and easier to keep hidden from individuals in authority. They talked about the frequency of cannabis use as being influenced by its availability, as if they would not use it if it were not so easy to get hold of. In Village H1 David suggested that cannabis was simply a means of passing the time. For him it was an alternative to drinking in the pubs which he was restricted from doing because of his age. He stated;

> It is quite easy to get hold of and if you haven't got anything else to do you think I might as well try it and then you like it and you do it again

> and again. Also there isn't... we can't go to the pubs and drink we are all too young to drink and so we all take the easy option get what they can.[David aged 15 Village H1].

In all of the research areas there were individuals who referred to cannabis as a natural plant rather than as a drug. It was recognised by them as a harmless substance because it was not chemically manufactured as so many of the designer drugs are. Because it was a plant and because they as individuals could grow it themselves if they chose to, it took on board a non-threatening status. Plants are unconditionally associated with nature, and nature itself is embedded with underlying tones of health and purity[11]. To many of the young people something which emerged from nature could do them no harm. In Village Y2 a young male, Jon, identified a clearly defined barrier which he himself constructed, between the substances he thought of as acceptable and what he considered to be dangerous. He argued;

> I think like smoking cannabis is a natural plant and everything and I'd disagree with anyone who said that it was bad for you, I think tablets can be dangerous in excess and I think if you use tablets a lot you'll... I know a lot of people who are a bit messy who you can tell they use drugs a lot like and you can definitely start messing up from them. Oh definitely if I take drugs I don't *think of it being illegal especially if I* was taking cannabis I don't see it as a drug at all. [Jon aged 16 Village Y2].

In Hertfordshire the young people held similar opinions. Cannabis was acceptable, something they did for fun, but a progression onto other substances was regarded differently. This brought with it fear of being out of control, and of threatening ones own safety. Nick, from Village H1 talked about this in detail and through his tone of voice and gestures gave the impression that he was not only justifying his use of drugs to me but also to himself. I noted in my diary that he progressively talked faster and seemed uncomfortable the more he tried to justify his actions. I sensed he was not

[11]These ideas were discussed in detail in Chapter Two where the role of the rural in healing and therapy was identified at a variety of discursive levels. Here the ideas of something being 'natural' as being 'healthy' or non-threatening is widened to include a substance which does have the power to harm. The power of discourses of the rural to override negative aspects of the rural and indeed nature become increasingly evident.

really convinced of his own reasoning, but perhaps until now had not had to question it.

> I've only done like a spliff like smoking and I have never had any intention or desire to take anything stronger because I wouldn't like the feeling of being out of control and knowing that anything could happen, like if you are not all totally there I could do something that could put my life into jeopardy. I do know people who have taken stronger stuff I don't necessarily disagree with it but on the other hand I don't agree with it either, its their prerogative if they want to do it, but I don't really agree with like doing harder drugs and stuff because I think in its own way it is frightening, I mean people say it gives you a buzz and it can do all these weird and wonderful things to you but I'd rather not take that chance. [Nick Village H1 aged 16].

Not all the young people thought that drugs were harmless. For some there was a gradation in terms of what was only potentially harmful, and what was thought to have the potential to kill you, even after relatively short term use. In the following quote Ben from Village H1 demonstrates that for him a drug is a drug and that all are harmful, what differentiates one from another is the severity of the harm that the substance can do to the individual. He states that;

> I think all drugs have the potential to harm you, but I think that taking heroin or cocaine has a higher risk and I think that people that do that I'm sorry to say this are incredibly sad. [Ben aged 16 Village H1]

In New Zealand cannabis was not only the most popular substance used but to an extent was the only substance used. The only other substances which demonstrated a degree of popularity were alcohol and LSD. Clare drew considerable differences between urban and the rural use of drugs suggesting that,

> You never hear of heroin, ecstasy or that [here], those are Auckland things. They just don't seem to come down here, that's the fast lane to go with the flash lifestyle, we don't need it [Clare aged 17 Village NZ1].

The popularity of cannabis became an expression of the different choices made between the urban and the rural populations in terms of their drug use.

It was a way in which the communities could be differentiated from one another. Space itself was not responsible for these differences but the way in which space played upon local social relations, local cultures and the way in which the people reacted to these differences did seem to influence the drugs culture. The popularity of cannabis use was also explained by the ease to which it was grown in the local environment. It was used so frequently because it was common, because there was little policing of it and because it was again seen as a natural plant which could do no harm. Tanya told a story of when she had been at a party and the police, although aware of drug use there did not sanction the use of cannabis. She states;

> Its not really a big deal. One night I was at a party and this police car came up....friends were smoking dope and the smell was still in the air but you couldn't see anyone smoking it. I asked the policeman for a ride home.....they said they could smell the marijuana and I asked them why don't you press charges and they both told me the same thing they said they don't really worry about it, its not really a big thing anymore. If you are smoking it within your own premises and its not really annoying anyone else they are not going to press charges.....Its just part of life now and you've got to get used to it. [Tanya aged 19 Village NZ1].

It could be suggested that the local culture here permitted the use of cannabis to a wider extent than urban areas or indeed other rural areas did.

Most of the young people in all the areas had a personal experience of the use of cannabis, alcohol and tobacco, although it was by no means experienced by all. Those that were not involved seemed to classify anything that was illegal, (illegal because of their age, or illegal to anyone), as dangerous and feared any breaking of the law quite strongly. It was this breaking of the law which seemed to stop them from experimenting and although it was not often spoken of in such a direct way, it was obvious that this was how they saw the use of these substances. The other substances were used by fewer individuals and less often. The only other substances that seemed to be used in Village NZ1 were solvents, and they were looked

down on by the majority of the young people I spoke to[12]. It was not acceptable to use solvents in the same way as it was to smoke cannabis or drink alcohol. The use of these substances was something desperate individuals were involved in, not the average young person. Sophie talked about the young people in Village NZ1 that she knew were involved in solvent abuse;

> There's a group of street kids, they are all starting to have kids now and they are all about 17 and they used to be really really badly into it. There was a group of about 8 of them, they would carry plastic bags, or put petrol on socks and hold them [by their noses], you could see the spray paint on their face, on their hands, on their clothes and you could just smell it. Their hair and their clothes when you walk past them. You can see by looking at them that their face is all drawn in and that they are sick from what they are doing but its making them feel good. [Sophie aged 17 Village NZ1].

One young male, Jim, suggested to me that if marijuana was not grown so readily in Village NZ1 that more of the young people would in fact turn to solvents because it was cheap and readily available. There would an influx of solvent abusers in the village, "a town of petrol or glue sniffers" [Jim aged 20 Village NZ1]. Solvent use was also talked about more in terms of the city, it was not particularly a rural issue to the residents of Village NZ1, again place was seen as having an impact upon the pattern and the substances which were used.

What emerged from research in all the areas were that codes of conduct for each substance existed, a social situation in which it was appropriate to use them if desired. The young people created this code of conduct themselves and although there were differences between the villages because they involved different individuals, there were many similarities. In Villages Y1,

[12]One substance which was talked of by some of the adults involved with counseling and rehabilitation was Datura. This is hallucinogenic plant whose liquid is drunk. This plant is common throughout New Zealand and although none of the young people spoke of knowing people who used it, it was thought of as being common among some of the adult population. Here another link between rurality and drug use can be identified where a plant growing in the wild is used for its mind altering effects. The photograph in Appendix Six shows a Datura plant.

Y2, H1, H2 and H3 it was acceptable to use cannabis, alcohol and tobacco on a regular basis. These substances could be used during the week, or at weekends and required only the availability of the substance rather than a particular social setting. Many of the young people would use them whilst 'hanging out' with their peers around the village, or would take them in a home when the risk from parental surveillance was small Use of cannabis, alcohol and tobacco was therefore frequent, Sara from Village H1 sums up these sentiments well suggesting that;

> nearly every night they are smoking cannabis or something and but like occasionally they are smoking something harder, but all the time they are smoking cannabis and stuff like that [Sara aged 16 Village H1]..

The young people talked freely about their use of these substances and through this suggested that for them it was a means of passing the time and could occur as frequently as going to school, or meeting with their peers. They established that it was a social thing that was adjunct to television and music in their free time. Jessica, from Village H1 was willing to talk in detail about her own personal patterns of use. There were no feelings of discomfort or embarrassment about her own drug using habits she stated;

> I used to do them more often than I do now [cannabis and alcohol] because when I first started coming out it was a new thing to do and that. I do them now if all my friends were doing them because most of the time it is just two of my friends doing them and everyone else is drinking and just having a good time or going round someone's house. I don't know if someone had a spliff or something and they said do you want some then I would say I would do it every other weekend or when I have got some money to spend. [Jessica Village H1 aged 15 years].

These patterns of use were evident in Yorkshire too. Where it was possible cannabis could be used anywhere on a daily or weekly basis whereas for many of the other substances they required not only a particular social setting but perhaps greater planning and preparation before they could be taken. This ensured their frequency of use was far more limited. Even those who did not use themselves were aware of the code of conduct which applied to each substance. Sarah from Village Y1 suggests;

> Well with ecstasy they would take it if they go to a nightclub they wouldn't take it if they were just going out here, but if they are going to a nightclub. They smoke draw and that all the time. [Sarah Village Y1 aged 14 years].

In one of the focus groups in Yorkshire the young people talked of this code of conduct. During the discussion I was aware that they were almost establishing what was acceptable and what was not whilst I was there. I sensed that if individuals had disagreed they would have been subjected to harsh criticism by the others. They established that it was acceptable to smoke cannabis during the week, whilst hanging out on the streets with peers, but it was not acceptable to use a more 'designer drug' in the same way. The extracts below echo these sentiments.

> *[Robert aged 16] - Depends on what you want really, if you just want cannabis you could probably go out anywhere and get it.*
> [Diane aged 15] - You wouldn't go out smoking cannabis really would you? [Going out here refers to a 'special night' rather than an ordinary evening spent in the village].
> *That's not what I mean really.*
> **[Erica aged 15] - What go out out and smoke cannabis?**
> Not out out, but when you are out.
> *Well you wouldn't go to a nightclub smoking cannabis.*
> **Like on a street or stuff you would. [Erica aged 15].**
> *You wouldn't have to plan that far ahead to get stuff so you can do it all the time.*
> [Focus Group 2 Village Y1 two females and one male].

For both the British areas the use of cannabis, alcohol and tobacco was weekly, and at times often daily. In each peer group individuals were consuming these substances on a regular basis, with little or no sanction from their peers or indeed from figures of authority. The other substances required something more- they were not simply a way of passing the time but an expression of greater commitment to the drugs culture. The use of these substances required slightly more planning and preparation and often involved music based venues or additional features in order that they were taken appropriately, with regard to both social setting and the manner in which they were taken.

In New Zealand the patterns of use exhibited some differences. Cannabis, alcohol and tobacco were almost the only substances used. What evidence there was of other substances was limited and seemed to only involve a minority of the young people I spoke to. Other substances were perceived as urban, they did not involve the rural people in the way that cannabis and alcohol did, they were for urban people and urban settings. Paula concludes;

> Its mainly marijuana here, maybe a couple of people do trips but they are in the big city and have discovered it and brought it back. Ecstasy is just a movie thing for us here too. [Paula aged 17 Village NZ1].

Cannabis, alcohol and tobacco were comparatively ingrained in the rural culture. Place heavily influenced the choice of drug for the populations living in each area. Every single young person was aware of use by their peers and by adults in the community. The use was frequent and often far more intense than it had been in Britain. As I questioned each group about the types of drugs used and the frequency of use they launched into detailed anecdotes about their patterns of use during the weeks and at weekends. For most alcohol was consumed to the point of being drunk only at weekends and could be accompanied by cannabis if required. For the more involved users both alcohol and cannabis would be used during the week during school hours, after school and in the evenings. In the following extracts Emily and Tanya illustrate these ideas;

> [It happens] every weekend. Always a party at someone's house, every weekend. You wouldn't sit on the streets and drink, only after a party. No-one sits in the town and has a big drink up. [Emily aged 17 Village NZ1].

> From the ages of 15-25 they smoke dope, drink.....they drink a lot of alcohol. Alcohol is a big subject in [Village NZ1] they drink alcohol all the time. They buy it from the shops and they drink it outside here and in the park and that, 16, 17 year olds drinking alcohol and smoking dope. That's just what they do. [Tanya aged 19 Village NZ1].

Each substance had a pattern of use which appeared not to be dependent upon geographical location, rather it was related to the social codes of conduct which the young people ascribed to each substance. These in turn

were linked to geographical location or place and so the link did exist but was not a direct one. The use of substances was more varied than I had imagined, certainly in the British areas. In New Zealand cannabis dominated, but appeared to be used in a more abusive or intensive manner and involved a larger proportion of the population.

On the basis of this evidence it is possible to deconstruct the myth of rural idealisation. Drug use is not solely an urban phenomenon, and widespread and frequent use by young people was evident in all the rural areas studied. The spatialisation of drug use onto the urban arena neglected a significant component of the drugs culture, further marginalising those involved from rural discourses. The following section regards another of the stereotypes surrounding drug use, that of the social groups involved in drug use.

5.6 Social stereotypes and drug use.

Questioning here was concerned with the characteristics of those involved in the drugs scene in the rural areas I studied. Did they comply with the stereotypes that pervaded media and public discourses of drug users? Earlier in this chapter I acknowledged the nature of income related stereotypes surrounding drug users both in Britain and New Zealand. Family income seemed to influence not only the types of drugs used, but also the reasons behind such use, and the manner in which they were obtained and taken. Many of the young people I spoke to had yet to reach an age when financial considerations were likely to limit their use of drugs in any substantial way. They were often in the initial stages of experimentation where drug use was associated with entertainment rather than an expression of the disillusionment they felt with life. It was difficult to ascertain the income level of individuals and their families and I could only gauge it through an assessment of their parents occupations and the impressions they gave out during the interview.

In Yorkshire I came across a variety of individuals from what might be viewed as low, middle and upper income groups. There was a high level of

integration between these groups within the villages and because of this I felt there was also less distinction between their patterns of use. This high level of integration reflected the small size of the community. Income could not determine who the young people associated with as the population was quite small. There was a need for groups and individuals to associate and income related barriers were therefore less pronounced. I did not find any considerable differences between those from different income groups in terms of the substances they used, only in their ability to access them as often as they required.

The drugs the young people used did not require a financial commitment beyond their means. They often had part time employment or had so few opportunities in which to spend their money that the cost of the drugs was rarely problematic. The drugs were generally thought of as a cheap form of entertainment. For the price of several evenings use of cannabis they could only afford to buy a few alcoholic drinks. In comparison they could get far better 'value for money' with many of the illicit drugs than they could with alcohol and tobacco[13]. Income based differences only came into play in the social setting in which the drug use was placed. For the lower income groups there was less commitment to the music based entertainment so often adjacent to drug use. As a group they were more likely to use the substances in the local setting and made less effort to be part of a wider cultural community of drugs and music. This may have been a reflection of financial constraints or of personal choice, but did appear to follow income based group boundaries.

What was interesting was the young people's own perceptions of drug addiction and the generalisations this brought with it. To many of the young

[13]The cost of the drugs was quite similar in both the British areas. Street prices in 1995 and early 1996 were as follows. An eighth of cannabis was about £8 in Yorkshire and about £10 in Hertfordshire. For speed and ecstasy similar costs were incurred for the equivalent amounts, both were about £10. In New Zealand it was about $10 for a wrap or a foil which was the equivalent of an eighth in Britain. These prices varied depending on who the drugs were got from and the amounts that were in circulation or that were being grown at the time.

people, drug addiction was concerned with hard drugs such as heroin and cocaine, and was for those suffering from deprivation and poverty. It was an income-based stereotype which they accepted without questioning. In one of the focus groups in Village A a conversation emerged surrounding the use of hard drugs and who it involved;

> Erica [aged 15 years] - It depends what kind of drug user you meant I mean if you were talking about someone who uses crack and that then they would more moody and really off hand with you and their eyes would be odd.
> *Diane [aged 15 years] - Like heroin has got the image of someone who is all droopy eyed and goes round stealing money to get their drugs and they are always in debts, but an image of someone taking and E is alright and there is few things negative. They [the heroin users] are usually depressed want to forget their problems, getting hassled and they want to get away from it. Yeah just want something to do to get involved with other people, like look part of a gang or something.*
> *[Village* 2 female aged 15 years].

To the young people addiction was associated with crime and poverty and was concerned with the economically deprived. They accepted this stereotype, as portrayed by the media, uncritically, even though their own experiences could have contradicted many of the ideas. What they and their peers did was acceptable because they did it for fun and they felt they had control over what they were doing.

In Hertfordshire the individuals I spoke with were mainly from lower or middle income backgrounds, although some from the upper income groups were also accessed. Those that participated in the drugs culture did not seem to be affected by differences in financial status. As a group they were less involved in music aspects of the drugs culture, including nightclubbing, than their counterparts had been in Yorkshire. This surprised me, I had imagined that in Hertfordshire there would be a greater level of participation in music based venues which were often located in the larger towns and cities. The close proximity to London I felt would facilitate this But they infrequently made a conscious effort to go to nightclubs or 'raves' and chose

instead to take the drugs in the vicinity of the village. It was almost as if their use of drugs was counter-intensive in relation to the degree to which the area was built up. This disinterest only extended as far as the place in which they were taken, not to the actual use of the 'designer' drugs.

In Britain, the class based stereotypes surrounding the social groups of drug users do not seem to hold. Those individuals participating from the lower social classes were not involved in criminal activity in order to feed their habits[14]. They did not involve individuals who were part of the criminal underworld feeding a habit which had evolved out of the sheer desperation of unemployment and poverty. In New Zealand however, there were considerable differences. Many of the young people I initially contacted had left school and were on a training scheme. They were mostly Maori, all unemployed and mostly from the lower income groups. For many of them, although not all, use of drugs was often simply a way of life that unemployed people chose to pursue[15]. The use of drugs followed the stereotypes more closely in New Zealand, being used as a form of escapism from the boredom and desperation of life on the dole, but this may have only been because of the individuals I contacted and other groups may well have exhibited different reasons and patterns.

Income did not determine the actual use of those drugs, but simply the reasons for its use and the social situations in which it was taken. All the young people I spoke with were in agreement about this, including those that were unemployed and those still in education. Drug use was something for both rich and poor and these groups could only be differentiated in terms of the reasons behind their use of drugs. Tanya from Village NZ1 used her own personal experiences to illustrate some of these ideas. These ideas were also confirmed by others in the group;

[14]This I am assuming, for none of them implied criminal activities were involved, although I could obviously not be sure of this.
[15]Obviously these ideas emerged from the sample I came into contact with and can in no way be seen as indicative of the general population.

> My boyfriend is on the dole and he used to do it every day and now its a once a week thing for him. And my brother works at Tasman and earns lots of money and he does it every day, and his friend they grow it and all the family grow it so it doesn't matter if you've got a good job or not its whether you want to do it or not. [Tanya Village NZ1 aged 19.]

> Its not how much money you have but knowing the right people. Here because everyone is on benefits the money comes so easy and goes so easy too. [Rachel Village NZ1 aged 15.]

> Anyone can do it, if you are going to do drugs you will find the money. A lot of people think its poorer people with no jobs but its not there a lot of business men who do it and that as well. The more money you earn the more drugs you can get. Most of the poor smoke marijuana because they can't afford the others. [Sarah Village NZ1 aged 16.]

Family income was not the only way in which drug use patterns were analysed, age, gender and race too were thought to have significant impacts upon the drug using habits of individuals. The age ranges of the young people I spoke to was quite varied. It ranged in Britain between 12 and 18 years and in New Zealand between 15 and 21 years[16]. Figure 5.3 illustrates the age range of the individuals I spoke to in each area. When compared with the levels of drug use among the respondents it becomes clear that for all the areas drug use was not something which appealed only to those in their late teens and early adulthood. Those using were generally in their mid teens and all were aware that each year the age of those experimenting was getting younger;

> It gets younger every year, like when I started everyone started around my age like last year, but now there is people younger there are a couple of 14 year olds a few 15 year olds that I know that do, that come up to you. [Jon aged 15 Village H1].

In one of the focus groups in Yorkshire the young people discussed at length how they believed the age of experimentation to be getting lower, and how they felt this to be far more problematic than what they did. They had a code

[16]In New Zealand the older age range of the individuals resulted from the legal situation in New Zealand which stated that I had to gain parental permission if I was to talk with individuals who were younger than this.

of conduct for the age at which it became acceptable to use drugs and when it was not;

Robert [aged 16] - **A lot of young people are taking them earlier.**
Diane [aged 15] - Its not just us it is 11 and 12 year olds who are smoking draw. Yeah they say can you get us some draw and they are only 10 or 11 and I don't know it.
Sophie [aged 15].*Its easier to get hold of.*
That's not right [that young].
Liz - SO WHAT AGE DO YOU THINK IT IS OK TO START DOING IT?
I don't know but 10 or 11 I don't think is OK.
I don't think they know what they are doing.
They don't know what is going to happen, and they think that everybody else is doing it. (3 young people Village Y1)

Table 5.3 Age ranges in the villages of study.

	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Y1	1 male		1 male 3 females	5 males 2 females	2 males 1 female	1 male			
Y2		1 female	1 male 2 females	2 males 1 female	1 male	1 male		1 male	
H1			2 females	2 males 5 females	3 males 1 female				
H2	1 female		1 male 1 female	2 males	1 female	1 male			
H3				1 male 2 females					
NZ1				1 male 1 female	4 females				
Total in each age group						13 females 3 males	1 female	1 female	1 male

Age appeared to determine the social situation in which you could take the drug, but not the actual drug taking. As Robert from Village Y1 suggests "if you are going to take an E you go out to a rave or a club and you want to come up and like have a good time, so you can dance and things like that, 11 year olds aren't going to go to them are they?"

The image of the drug user as a young adult could be deconstructed by the thoughts and opinions of those I questioned. To them age only influenced drug using patterns when they considered their future. Most young people did not feel that their drug use would continue throughout their adult lives. It was something they did now to compensate for a lack of opportunity they felt with their current situation, a craze or phase that most would go through at one point in time and then eventually grow out of. As Diane from Village Y1 stated " it should be a little teenage craze when you are about 15 and you go off it when you are....just something to do to enjoy yourself [when you are younger] [Diane aged 15 Village Y1]. Ben from Village H1 talked about his own personal use of drugs in this way too suggesting that it was a phase that he and his peers were now growing out of;

> I know ecstasy tablets are dangerous as well but I wouldn't personally want to do it, if all my mates want to do it fine, occasionally they still do it, but now we are getting slightly that bit older we don't think it is that good to take pills and that, now we are older we normally just get some cans of beer or cider or vodka and get pissed. [Ben aged 16 Village H1].

In Britain the age variations within the drug using population did not appear to be related in any way to gender. If we follow the stereotypical image of a drug user, what is implied is a concentration around male use of drugs compared with use by females. I had expected to see some variation between the sexes both in terms of what they used and the frequency or intensity of such use. I had expected to see marked differences between Yorkshire and Hertfordshire with respect to gender too. This I felt would stem from a greater emphasis in Yorkshire on 'traditional values' and lifestyles, male use reflecting masculine values of status and image.

Many of these ideas were upheld by what the young people told me. They talked consistently of the differences between the males and females both with respect to what they used, how they used it and how they felt that use

differed from use by the other sex. It was generally accepted that male use was more extensive than female use and that it often involved a wider variety of substances. Girls it seemed were more likely to use the softer drugs, and more infrequently. In the quote below Paul from Village H1 talks about his own experiences of drug use and the differences he saw between the males and females in terms of their patterns of use. He says that;

> Normally find that girls stick to like solid which I mentioned and cannabis rather that pills, basically you would find that the males are more eager to try pills and trips than the girls I don't know why. They will do more of it too, but its basically not because they have got more money because that's an understatement but they just prefer whereas others prefer smoking cannabis, why do they need to take more stuff to make them ill when you can smoke something you know you can handle and you know you can have a good time doing that.[Ben Village H1 aged 16].

Not all the young people felt that these differences were real, and for many female use far outweighed that by the males. But even when females were thought to use more it was seen as contrary to what they young people believed should be the patterns of use. Nick from Village H1 suggested;

> I think it is pretty even, but I have known more people that are girls to have taken them than boys. I'm not sure for the reasons maybe there has always been this thing for the girls being more mature than the boys and you expect them to think that it is wrong and stuff but people seem to think that girls are more willing to take that one more step to take the harder drug. I wouldn't know about the types of drugs really, but I know that they [girls] will take more harder drugs like pills and tripping and stuff like that. [Nick aged 16 Village H1].

Others from the villages simply thought that male and female use was similar, and that they could only be differentiated in terms of why they used rather than what they used. In both the British areas male use was often regarded by the young people in terms of status and image. It was a way in which males could express their masculinity and feel acceptance among the peer group. Many felt that males were in fact pressured by their peers into using drugs as a way of being accepted by the peer group. In the following two statements both a male and a female suggested that image and group

acceptance were important factors in determining whether a young male would participate or not in the drugs scene.

> Yeah I think that lads are more pressurised by their mates than girls because they want to look more harder and girls can just say I don't want to take that, lads just get hassled by it. [Sarah aged 14 Village Y1].

> I think what they take is like the same sort of thing but I think they like take them for different reasons. Like boys it's like macho, its considered like you are not in if you do not take them. With girls there is not that much pressure to do it, well there weren't with my friends. I think there's pressure but you know it hasn't been said it's like an unsaid pressure. [Robert aged 16 Village Y1].

Both examples given are statements made by young people from Yorkshire reflecting the highly defined divisions between the two sexes in this region. In Yorkshire male roles were far more defined and 'traditional', they involved the male being the stronger sex, not only physically but also with respect to their demeanor, attitudes, language and behaviour. They were undoubtedly the controlling sex in the peer groups I saw[17]. Female use of drugs in Yorkshire was more commonly associated with a bit of fun, or would occur because that female was involved with a group of males who used. Here her use was often part of being accepted by the peer group that her partner was involved in, and increased her status among the males.

Hertfordshire showed similar patterns of use with males and females with the males using more frequently and more intensely. The roles were not as strongly defined as in Yorkshire and the sexes appeared to be on more of an equal level, not simply with regard to their drug use, but in terms of all their social activities and peer group relations too[18]. I felt that these differences reflected the nature of the rural communities in the two areas. In Yorkshire

[17]This is not to suggest that these roles were reality for all the young people in these villages, but that for those that I spoke to they were more than real. This was evident not only in how the males spoke, behaved and acted but also in terms of the female patterns of behaviour and speech.

[18]It was far more common to see females as part of male peer groups in Hertfordshire and where they were integrated groups females were as likely to be in the dominant social positions.

much of the employment and social structure was still based around the traditional industries of agriculture where the female roles can be argued as being more established than in some other industrial areas. The role of the family was still visibly dominant among many of the young people. In Hertfordshire many of the young people's parents commuted to London or surrounding large towns for employment and there was little agriculture. For them, females had roles which were equal to the males and they were often involved in employment outside the community too. The village had a completely different status, as a place of residence, rather than a community structured around a common source of employment. These differences I felt were reflected in the gender relations that I saw.

As an additional feature to this part of the research, I became interested in female, or male, use of stimulant drugs as a way in which to keep weight constant or to lower it. Drug use here becomes not so much recreational or sporadic, but has a distinct purpose to it which involved regular and structured use. I was surprised at how uncommon this actually was- few of the young people I spoke to knew any incidents of this. The examples I was given were of isolated individuals rather than a trend amongst a wide peer group, and it was only in Hertfordshire that I heard of individuals who were involved in this type of drug use. As one example of this type of drug use Sarah from Village H1 spoke of one of her friends who used stimulant drugs in this way. She stated;

> One girl at my school, she like goes to clubs and she doesn't stop and gets home and she says oh she's put on weight and then she takes some more [drugs]. [Sarah aged 14 Village H1].

In New Zealand age, gender and race were more closely linked than in Britain. Experimentation with substances commenced in the early teens and progressed through to adulthood. Many felt that drug use was indeed more of an adult occupation than something that young people got involved in. The nature of the New Zealand rural community lended itself towards adult use of drugs as it was an area in which much of what was consumed,

certainly with regard to cannabis, was locally produced. Indeed a proportion of the adult population appeared to be involved in this type of activity. The geography of the area ensured that there was an ample supply all year round. There were good climatic conditions, and vast areas of untouched forest in which to grow the cannabis. The young people I spoke with had easy access to as much cannabis as they required. Much of what was grown locally was perceived to be grown by the Maori population more than the Pakehas, although there was much debate about this stereotype. Age race and gender seemed to be more closely linked than in Britain. Many spoke of Maori involvement in the drugs culture as starting during adolescence and progressing through to adulthood, but this was usually only concerned with the males when it involved such a long period of participation. In one of the group discussions some of these ideas were clearly expressed. The conversation started with a young female talking of her own involvement with drugs and alcohol;

> Jo [Maori aged 17] - If you have been through your drugs and been through your alcohol you see things differently, I can say I have been through it before my friends and now they have all been through it and now you think did I do that.
> **Liz - Why do adults do it then?**
> *Emily [Pakeha aged 17] - Its like you have been with the same crowd all the time then you'll do it, but if you do different things then you won't do it.*
> Stems for their childhood it gets rid of all the hurt and anger[19].
> **Do you think it is part of rural culture?**
> I reckon nearly every family I know, all my relations that are Maori have all got alcohol problems.
> *See none of my family has alcohol problems and none of them really drink and even at Christmas when we have a real savage get together no-one really drinks...real slow. Pakehas don't really drink to get drunk like Maori do.*
> [2 Females Village NZ1].

The majority of the young people did not think of it as something in which only they were involved, but as something which adults were a part of too.

[19]Many more of the young people spoke intimately of personal and social issues that had arisen in their short lives. I chose here not to reproduce some of the conversations for fear of furthering stereotypes surrounding the Maori culture.

In this respect it was not an activity for a small minority, but one which appealed to young and old, and to those from upper and middle, as well as the lower income groups. All of those that I spoke to were in agreement about this, and cited examples of individuals that they knew who were involved from a variety of social groupings. In the following extracts from some of the interviews these ideas are illustrated well. Both Maori, Pacific Islander and Pakeha youth agreed about the use of drugs by a wide variety of individuals and many talked of their own parents or relatives who used on a regular basis.

> I can think of a few teachers that do it. I know successful business people who do it here and in the city. Its not just a young person thing. Its a recreational thing for them. I know people who have tried by accident in a cake at a party. I know certain peoples parents who have reached a certain age and have thought why not and have tried it. Not regularly in front of their children, even parents and kids who both use seem uncomfortable to use it together. [Tom aged 16 Pakeha Village NZ1].

> Yeah its OK for them [adults] to use it. Just in the kitchen and roll up, they would be sitting in the kitchen or in the lounge and that. [Anna aged 16 Pakeha Village NZ1].

Some individuals spoke of alcohol and cannabis use as being inherited behaviours from their parents, something they saw the adults do and which they therefore felt was acceptable to do themselves. It was seen to be changing though, especially within the Maori population who were now seeing a way out through their own culture. As Mariella said;

> Before it was like you'd walk down the street with empty beer bottles saying "shall we be like dad" so naturally they have inherited the fact that they are supposed to be drinking. But now in the last 2 years....they are bringing in such a strong amount of Maoriotanga. There is a myth that drinking is a Maori problem but if you say it you will get it. Now everyone is trying to get into the culture and keep away from the alcohol. [Mariella aged 17 Village NZ1].

There were mixed feelings among both the Maori and Pakeha populations about the use of drugs and with whom it could be associated. Some of the young people felt it was predominantly a Maori issue and others saw it as

something which had no preference for creed or colour. Many felt strongly about the stereotypes surrounding Maori use of drugs, feeling it was something which had come to be accepted as the truth with little or no questioning and that it indeed required much questioning. Among many of the social groups, distinctions were made between the Maori and Pakeha populations and their use of drugs, and they were seen as separate examples, rather than as one population of Village NZ1. In contrast other young people argued against these ideas. Tanya as one example suggested that;

> Its like death it doesn't have any preference for race or religion, maybe its more associated with Maori because they are associated with the bush and that's where its grown, they probably grow it more but Pakeha probably smoke it more I think. [Tanya aged 19 years Village NZ1].

Many of the Maori spoke of these stereotypes in a resentful manner. They objected to it being seen as a Maori issue when they felt that as many of the other races were involved. There was a feeling of blame, and of resentment of that blame as if did not reflect reality in any way. This resentment could be identified in their tone of voice, their gestures and the way they repeatedly argued against these ideas. In the following quotes these ideas are expressed in detail by a number of the young people. The texts speak for themselves and demonstrate these feelings of resentment well. In the first Tanya talks of the Pakehas as bringing in the drugs to New Zealand and in the second Catherine speaks of the stereotypes of Maori involvement in the drugs scene.

> It wasn't Maori who brought it into New Zealand so its sort of.....a Maori used his brain to get money out of it but not always. [Tanya 19 year old Village NZ1].

> I think people think it is but I don't think it is. I think they tend to blame Maori and it gets blamed on crime rates as well but I know a lot of Pakeha who do it as well but people don't think they would. They are more discreet about it. Its like stereotyping about Maori. The statistics and that always seem to blame it on the one race and that, probably because there is a lot of Polynesian people and that that are seen to be unemployed...I think also its because a lot of Maori people get caught with it. They are not very cunning about it, a lot of Pakeha people are a lot better at hiding it I think, more aware of being caught. I think they are caught because of the stereotype, a Maori could be

> driving a flash car and get pulled over because they [police] don't think they would be driving it and then they get searched. [Catherine aged 16 Village NZ1.]

> I reckon its just a myth quite a few Pakehas have done it. People see most Maoris stoned every day they hardly ever see any Pakehas stoned and they just think oh the Maoris are always doing that and we never see the Pakehas do that so Pakehas are good. To me it feels like people are putting Maoris down, just like they can be looking at a Maori and this Maori could be straight as and they will judge him like he smokes drugs and yet he's a Christian and that. [Jim aged 20 Village NZ1].

There were obviously mixed feelings about the role that race played upon drug use patterns in Village NZ1. It seemed clear that the majority of young people felt that although there were strong racial connotations surrounding drug use patterns implying heavier involvement by Maori, that they could be contested on a number of levels. The linking of Maori with drug use was often explained by the greater proportion of Maori within the community, their heightened visibility and the more open manner in which they took drugs[20]. Tanya suggested that this difference in the way the drugs were taken was the only distinction that could be made on racial grounds. She spoke in detail of the use of alcohol by many Maori people in Village NZ1 as being something that they were open about, but that the Pakeha people perhaps were more secretive about;

> Its more of a Maori thing. It depends on where you go to drink....the people that sit around in public areas the 15-20 year olds that sit around they are more Maori. In pubs like noisy pub, like that pub across the road, The Jug, that's a Maori pub, you get more Maoris there than you do Pakehas there. [Tanya aged 19 Village NZ1].

Racial differences in the consumption of drugs was often intricately linked with gender differences both in the literature's I came across and through speaking to the young people. In Village NZ1 the roles of males and females were well defined especially within the Maori population. There were very 'traditional' roles for the adult women who were usually employed in the

[20] It must also be noted that there were other racial groups in the village including many Pacific Islanders who were also thought to be heavily involved in drug use.

service sector or were often housewives. Many of the young females I spoke with were quite accepting of these roles and had few aspirations. They were seemingly trapped, if not physically, then metaphorically in a lifestyle which they felt was inevitable. Village NZ1 could offer them a life in the timber industry and related trades or a life on benefits. Those that did have aspirations to move away were usually the white middle classes and often the males[21].

Gender roles in the Maori community were defined in this way and was reflected in their descriptions of male and female use of drugs. Many saw male use as prolonged and extensive, whereas female use was seen as more intermittent, and a phase that they would more easily pass through. Male use was also strongly associated with status and image and was often used to impress the females and in some case the males in their peer group. The young people in Village NZ1 talked of greater peer pressure on males to use than on females. In the following extracts these ideas are conveyed by some of the young people I spoke to. In the first extract Mariella implies that use by females is strongly related to a wish to be accepted by males in their peer group, and secondly a male from the same discussion group confirms these ideas;

> Males do it more than females because they are the males and they are the role model, they have to do this to impress a female, smoke this and be macho so female will like me. Females will take it to please that guy or something. [Mariella 17 years Village NZ1].

> It seems to me that males tend to be more likely to use it and use it more. Maybe image, people want to portray themselves in different ways, I couldn't really say why. Its sort of macho, cool, "look at me I'm bad" in the younger people. The older people just do it recreationally, just something to do.[Nick 18 years Pakeha NZ1.]

The differences between males and females seemed pronounced among the young people but became even more evident when one considered their

[21]Obviously these statements are quite general and many of the young people did not conform to what I say here. But these statements do convey a general outlook or attitude held by the majority of those I spoke to.

views on the adult population. Most of the young females felt that by the time they had reached adulthood they would have progressed away from the use of drugs. It was a phase that they went through and grew out of. For many of the males the use of substances continued through in to adulthood. Tanya suggested that this was a common feature of the Maori community in particular where the females adopted a more traditional role of motherhood early on and therefore avoided taking drugs. Females were seen to use alcohol more regularly and more abusively, but more sporadically, whereas the males focused more on cannabis and continued throughout their lives.

> [With alcohol] its partially more male. In teenagers its both, there's a lot more females that drink than males, but in the pubs its mixed. The percentage of males and females will be equal in the pubs and who drink publicly. But in the younger age groups there's a lot more young people who drink regularly in groups and a few males who get into groups and drink too. It then evens itself out. [With marijuana] I think a lot more males smoke it. A lot of my friends that I used to go to school with we used to all smoke it because it was cool, or because it was there and something to do at school to pass the time because we didn't like school. It was something different, right through school so we were high. Now me and my friends we all have children and we stopped because its a bond you have with your child and you give that up for the child and the father doesn't feel the same thing that you do with the child and they just keep continuing to smoke. [Tanya aged 19 Maori Village NZ1].

5.7 Discussion.

It has been illustrated throughout this chapter how widespread the use of drugs by young people in rural areas of Britain and New Zealand is[22]. Not only has the presence of drug use been demonstrated, but also the extent and nature of that use. In each of the three study areas, the use of drugs has been identified as being persistent and extensive, with the young people using a variety of substances on a regular basis. I had expected each area to illustrate differences which could be explained by its geographical location or by local place relations. In Yorkshire, for example, I had expected a smaller variety of substances to be used and for the young people to use them in a

[22]Although it can be argued that any area is indeed unique and that generalisations cannot be made from such limited research it would be expected that similar results would emerge from many other rural locations in both countries.

more sporadic fashion because of the geographical marginalisation of their location. In reality their use of drugs was less affected by location than I had anticipated. Indeed they used a wider variety of substances and made increased effort to ensure they could be used in particular social settings if required. One difference occurred in the social codes of conduct that each group of young people ascribed to their substance use, this was affected by place with each group assigning acceptable and non-acceptable conditions of use. Here geographic location played a large role in determining where and when it was acceptable to use each substance.

In New Zealand the choice of drugs was more limited, but this did not result in them being used in a less intensive way. I found the use in New Zealand to be quite extreme in terms of the frequency and amount of drugs being used. Again social codes of conduct were applied to the use of each substance, individuals knew what was acceptable and where and when, and also what was not. It would have been interesting to compare these social codes of conduct with those in other rural areas.

With respect to the social groupings involved many of the stereotypes could be deconstructed through the fieldwork. There was no concentration around particular income groups in any of the study areas, each illustrated members from a variety of income levels involved in the drugs culture. It was if anywhere, in New Zealand that there was concentration around the lower income groups, but this may only reflected the individuals I had access to. These 'class' variations did not alter the way in which the drugs were taken, or what was taken, simply how often it could be taken and where.

Age and gender stereotypes seemed to be the most easily upheld by fieldwork data. In each of the areas drug use seemed to be an activity which was centred around the young, although by no means excluded to those from the adult population. New Zealand illustrated the greatest participation by the adults. Males were more involved than females in all the areas and drug

use was strongly associated with status and image among the young men in both countries. Finally in terms of race, I felt that the young people in New Zealand could not adequately deconstruct the stereotype of Maori involvement in the drugs culture. What they implied was that all races used, but in different ways and to different extents.

This chapter has therefore identified the nature and extent of drug use in the three areas of study. What emerges is a representation of the drugs culture in three particular localities, and an acknowledgment that for those in the areas of study, drug use is more of a lived experience for a wider proportion of the population in rural areas than is suggested through media and public body representations of drug use. What has been shown is the way in which place effects the manner in which the drugs culture is adopted and sequentially developed in each area. In all of the locations particular characteristics have been identified which have made their location different to the others. Although general themes and examples have been shown there have also been many characteristics of the drugs scene which have emerged as unique to each area. In focusing on the quantitative side there has been a neglect of many of the intricate details of those drug taking cultures. In the following chapters these details will be unveiled and the role or place of the rural in the development of these cultures will be identified.

Chapter Six

Micro-geographies of supply and consumption.

6.1 Introduction.

In the previous chapter the extent and nature of drug use in the three areas of study was identified. It was shown that although drug use is consistently regarded as an urban problem, it is in fact an integral component of rural life both in Britain and New Zealand. This chapter aims to analyse the spatiality of that drug use at a micro-level within the villages themselves, and seeks to establish where, if at all, the particular places of supply and consumption within the village boundary are. Throughout this chapter I aim to identify whether certain spaces within the villages of study have changing identities and uses, both in terms of the time frameworks in which they are used, and with regard to the social groups using them. I will draw on notions of place identity and territory within this and will establish how these place identities are both created and maintained by different groups within the village. I will refer to the work of Goffman (1961), Marsh et al (1978) and Fonarow (1995) in this analysis of place identity and territory, and identify both public and private spaces in the village and will determine whether the identity of particular places changes as their use does or as certain groups of the population come to use them. I will address whether the visibility, or privacy level of places alters as a result of its changing use or identity.

In the following section I will show how the village or more generally the countryside, as a social space has come to be regarded as a place free from the supply of illicit drugs as a result of the limited amounts of private space that exist there. I will then contrast this with empirical evidence which suggests that the village has become a place of supply and consumption of illicit substances. Throughout this work I will draw upon the idea that

particular spaces within the village come to be used for the supply and consumption of drugs and others remain used in a more conventional manner. In this respect I will draw on notions of public and private spaces within and beyond the village boundary.

6.2 Drug use in the village. The public and private spaces of the village environment.

In Chapter One the discursive idealisation of rural areas was identified at a variety of levels. It was shown how rural areas have come to be seen as places which are free from social problems such as drug use. In Chapter Five these ideas were contrasted with results from the empirical work which suggested that drug use was a lived experience for many of the young people in each of the three areas of study. There appeared to be no limits to their use of drugs in terms of their geographical location. Drugs were accessed as often as they were required, and only the less 'popular' substances required any substantial planning from those requiring them. It was shown that rural areas as free from drug use is a widely accepted misconception. The reality being that drug use as a form of social behaviour, does not occur only in the towns and cities, but is to some extent universal across a variety of residential areas.

This association of drug use with the urban environment extends beyond an acceptance of it simply being there, and involves a more general incorporation of ideas of defilement and impurity into the urban arena. As identified in Chapter One urban areas have many negative connotations associated with them, as areas of crime, of ill health, as sites of homelessness, as areas of overcrowding and as places where the quality of life is generally deemed lower than in more rural districts. These notions come into play again when one considers the ideas and images surrounding drug supply. Here there is again a pervasive image of drug supply occurring in the urban arena with the rural as free from such associations.

This image surrounding the supply of drugs in urban areas has long been centered around the dealer or pusher who roamed the streets and alleyways preying on naive and innocent youth, the vulnerable, the poor and other powerless individuals who were easy targets for the supplier to approach. The dealer was thought to occupy spaces which were removed from the general public's use of the city. These areas included the alleyways, the run down and poor inner city districts, certain parks all which were secluded of which provided privacy. Irvin Welsh's film Trainspotting is an example of how this image has come to pervade media and public discourses of drug supply. In the film it is the urban pusher preying on the vulnerable and deprived urban population in particular places or locations. These places then come to be associated with drug supply[1].

Secluded areas in the city often come to be associated with certain groups of the population such as the homeless, drug users, and other individuals whose chosen lifestyle does not fit the norms established by the wider society. These areas are used because they provide the privacy away from the surveillance of the general population. They are often public spaces, but because they are used in non-conventional times, or are separate from other areas of general use, they become private spaces, closed off and are removed from the public eye. Other more conventional places such as pubs and nightclubs are also popular venues for the distribution of drugs, but resist such negative labels because they have particular accepted social functions adjacent to the association with drugs. This is also because they are private, enclosed spaces where anything unconventional occurring can be kept apart from the general population and are often used at non-conventional times. For the urban drug dealer life is thought to revolve around the purchase and distribution of illicit substances. He is often thought of as deprived,

[1] Although I focus here on one media representation , many other films, documentaries and books seem to place emphasis on this type of representation. In even the most vague ways drug supply holds quite pervasive connotations about the people and places it involves.

unemployed and male, participating in the supply of drugs as a means of financial survival[2].

Here the urban area provided privacy and anonymity for both the dealer and the consumer. It allowed a separation, if only a marginal one, from both the wider society and the spaces, places and people that the user was linked to in other aspects of their life. It is a large enough space to be anonymous, where one can participate in activities which are alien to an individuals normal code of practice, or where one can portray an image or identity which contrasts with their everyday existence. Zones used in this unconventional manner become territorial because they were used in an unconventional way and because the use of them emitted fear to other groups of the population.

The urban arena also became linked with the supply of drugs because of the association with dance and music based cultures which are often urban centered. In Chapter Three I discussed the emergence of the rave and dance culture and its links with illicit substances, and although many of the initial 'raves' occurred in disused barns in the English countryside they soon became focused in urban venues such as nightclubs. The association with the rural landscape was again overtaken by links with the urban environment.

I would argue therefore that rural substance use has been conceptualised as separate to this process. If drug users were even believed to exist in rural areas, the supply of their drugs and the places where they consumed them, were still thought to be away from the rural environment. The average person would not conceptualise either supply or consumption of drugs with the rural landscape. Whether this is informed by a real experience of particular environments, or whether it is sustained by the idylistic discourses of rurality is debatable. From such beliefs rural drug users are thought to be obligated to travel to the urban to purchase and consume their substances. Removed from rurality in every sense, I would suggest that drug use came to

[2] Here I refer again to the images I suggest are portrayed in media and public representations of drug use.

be identified by the general population as a component of urban culture which the rural population could tap into periodically if they wished to. It was almost as if the rural population was expected to take itself into the realms of the urban world to participate in all aspects of this activity.

The urban environment therefore held private places where supply and consumption of drugs could occur away from the watchful eye of figures of authority. They were the 'free places', where as in Goffman's psychiatric hospitals, people can "openly engage in a range of tabooed activities" (in Thornton and Gelder 1997 :325). This relates well to the work of Waltzer (1986 :474) who argues that the streets in urban areas are becoming increasingly a place for "social, sexual and political deviance: derelicts criminals, 'hippies', political and religious sectarians, adolescent gangs" which causes ordinary people to flee the streets. What results is a decline in public, or accessible space for the general population[3].

The rural environment, in comparison, is a place where such privacy is thought to be limited. The small scale physical environment of rural area ensures that few spaces are removed from the public eye. As recognised in Chapter One the village has long been recognised as a place in which the population exists as a tight knit community. There is a strong sense of belonging, of homogeneity, where people 'fit in' and differences either do not exist or are glossed over. The village community is one where people go to escape the differences and diversity of the urban, where one can feel safe in familiar surroundings and be surrounded by like minded people. These ideas are echoed in the work of Rapport (1993) and Bell (1994) who both illustrate the intensity of community ties and feelings of belonging in village life. For Rapport this is best demonstrated on the island of Burra in Scotland where "the traditional community was close knit and isolated; it was

[3] Writers such as Berman (1986) argue that this definition of ordinary people simply extends the generalisations and stereotypes that already exist. Although I agree to some extent with the thoughts of Berman I do believe that some urban zones are become increasingly cut off to general members of society and are dominated by 'alternate' people.

egalitarian, shunned ostentatious differentiation and esteemed traditional competencies" (Byron 1985 :146). In Bell's study village Childerley, the residents cited feelings of belonging and uniformity as characteristics of village life. Childerley offered "quietness, a slower pace, smallness of scale, knowing everyone, helping others, tradition, refuge from the rat race, advantages for family and children, freedom from material competitiveness, religious morality" (1994 :93). These are all characteristics which fall in line with Tonnies *gemeinschaft* idea which is often related to the village community[4]. The village community would appear to be a safe and fulfilling environment, where difference is limited and spaces are both public and safe.

In such an environment drug supply and consumption would be seen by many as an unacceptable part of village life, contrasting too strongly with the image of rurality as a pure landscape which has been accepted so uncritically by many living both in the villages and beyond. Drug supply and consumption in a situation such as this would remain hidden or would be ignored whether it existed or not. As the village is very much a communal or public place, the strong sense of community would ensure that few areas are private in any significant sense and are therefore unsuitable for the supply of drugs. Even a personal home is under the watchful eye of the village community and the sense that 'everybody knows everybody' means that personal privacy is often limited. With respect to drug use, one would therefore expect the village to provide a strong sense of community and communal living so that it would be impossible to carry out non-conventional forms of behaviour, such as drug supply and consumption, without it becoming public news within the village.

In addition the countryside is also often regarded as an open and public place where visits during weekends or holidays are popular pastimes for the general population and villagers alike. The village is seen as a place where the residents can have free and open access to the areas surrounding their

[4] Tonnies (1940, 1995) concept of gemeinschaft and geschellshaft were related to the contrasting characteristics of urban and rural communities.

homes which contrasts with much of the urban landscape. This openness or freedom from the confined and private space of the city is one of the strongest selling points of rural areas, and is often an incentive to live there as opposed to urban areas. This was cited by many of the residents of Bell's (1994) Childerley who suggested that space was an integral facet of the benefits of village life. In this respect the countryside or rural landscape becomes a public place where privacy can be limited. A place which is freely open to all.

These ideas can be contrasted with recent work on spatial boundaries in the village landscape. In recent years there has been much debate surrounding the increasing privatisation of public spaces in the countryside. What was previously deemed as a free and open space is increasingly closed off to certain groups in society, and in some respects to all. What was previously an open and free landscape becomes a zone which is increasingly privatised. The regulation of fields and farmland, the reduced access to public footpaths and open countryside has challenged the nature and definition of these previously perceived public spaces. Both Ward's (1990) and Valentines (1997) work on children in the countryside suggest that for children the countryside is an increasingly closed off environment where barbed wire fences and tall hedgerows prevent free and easy access to the countryside. Valentine cites the work of Shoard (1980) and argues with her that the loss of hedgerows has had a significant impact on rural children, as well as its effects upon wildlife. As this occurs the definition of rural areas as public spaces becomes questionable, and in many respects changes, where rural areas come to be seen as private places where each space has defined functions and access for particular groups[5].

This idea of public and private spaces and their changing identities has been systematically reviewed by a number of academics in recent years. Valentine's (1996) work on public and private spaces for children in the

[5] Although recently there has been a reversal of this reduction in access in some areas it remains a significant feature of many rural areas.

village environment provides particular interest here. She argues that children are being systematically excluded from the public spaces such as parks and fields in the village because of increasing potential fears of abduction and other social, as well as physical dangers. This echoes the work of Burgess (1993) who suggests that woods and forests, often a dominant feature of the rural landscape, are two of the most feared and most desired aspects of the countryside. Risk of physical and verbal abuse is thought to be high and consequently she argues children are often not allowed to play in woods unchaperoned (1993 :5). Here the public space of the village becomes a potentially private space used only by groups who either are responsible for making such environments fearful or who are able to avoid, resist or simply deny that such potential dangers exist there[6]. As Valentine (1996, 1997) argues young people are often classed as incompetent to safely negotiate places like the street and park alone, and are pushed into privatised spaces such as the home for protection. This echoes the work of Ward (1990) who argued that rural areas were in many respects thought to be the ideal landscape in which to grow up but was also responsible for creating feelings of marginalisation and restriction as a result of the 'Tresspassers Keep Out' signs which are increasingly dominating the rural landscape. Here the open spaces of the village and the surrounding countryside become increasingly privatised and shut off to these individuals. As Corrigan (1979) concludes it is ironic that here the street and open space outdoors becomes a private space and the home, more of a public one. The previously free and open spaces of the countryside are increasingly regulated and sanctioned in terms of their uses.

This idea of public and private spaces as socially and culturally constructed, can be applied to other social groups in the rural environment and indeed in

[6]Valentine's (1995) work on the geography of women's fear in particular in urban areas suggests that again public spaces can become private spaces because of a reputation which builds up because they become associated with certain types of behaviour. What is considered as public space to men may be considered as private to women, either at particular times in the day or when they are alone. Also her work in 1996 and 1997 focuses on children's restricted use of public spaces.

the urban too. For many racial and ethnic groups, the village environment and therefore the countryside, is a zone of potential fear, of exclusion and prejudice. Where the homogeneity of the village is threatened by the presence of 'other' groups, these 'others' are often made to feel unwelcome or excluded both physically and socially from the community of the village. In their work on gay geographies Bell and Valentine (1995) suggest that homosexuals are rarely accepted in villages for this very reason, and consequently the so-called public space of the village becomes increasingly privatised, accepting only those who fit the homogeneity which is believed to exist there. Sibely's (1994) work on gypsies, and Agyeman and Spooner's (1997) work on ethnicity echoes these sentiments reinforcing the idea that for many social groups what is deemed as a public space may in fact be private because of the social rules or systems of exclusion which operate there. The rural environment creates an identity for itself which is maintained through the existence of social and physical exclusion. The village consequently becomes a territorial zone which is private and exclusionary.

As the rural environment becomes closed off to groups and individuals who are different in some way, and as the landscape is closed off in terms of access and with regard to the perceived lack of safety, the whole identity of rural areas changes. What was previously seen as an area with few spaces suitable for the supply and consumption of illicit substances, because it was a public and severely scrutinised zone, now presents opportunities for these activities to occur. Later in this chapter these uses of the rural landscape will be discussed in greater detail.

In New Zealand these ideas of public and private spaces in the village were quite obviously different to what they had been like in Britain, and it followed from the fact that the whole drug culture in New Zealand was so very unique. In particular it is the cannabis industry which distinguishes New Zealand's drug culture from that in Britain. Britain has in recent years seen

an increase in the 'popularity' of home grown cannabis, both for personal use and on a mass scale grown for profit. However climatic conditions in Britain are not as ideal as in New Zealand for this, and this has ensured that it is nowhere nearly as strongly developed as it is in New Zealand. The New Zealand cannabis industry has certain features which make it recognisable. These include an association with the Maori population, with areas exposed to good climatic conditions such as Northland, The Coromandel and the Bay of Plenty, and also with areas which suffer from high levels of unemployment. These three characteristics have strong interlinkings and where they exist in conjunction with one another the drugs culture could be argued as being an expression of wider social and cultural issues[7]. As McLoughlin (1991) suggests towns like Motueka at the tip of the South Island are becoming increasingly associated with excessive drug cultivation and associated crime levels are rising dramatically. Here it is argued that the drug culture reflects the growing levels of unemployment and frustration felt by the local people.

Cannabis has been grown and consumed in New Zealand for many decades but it was in the 1970's that it developed into a cult recreational activity and started to emerge as a small scale industry as well as a recreational activity. In *New Zealand Green,* Redmer (1990) discuses thoughtfully the role cannabis has played in New Zealand culture since the early 1940's and argues that between the 1940's and the 1970's it was predominantly associated with the bohemian and alternative groups in society, the hippies and the counterculture. By the 1970's it was becoming more mainstream and popular amongst a wider group of the population. Redmer suggests that the image of the drug user diversified so as to not be focused on only the, "the drug addicted delinquents nor the mystical sensitives that they have been

[7] Although it must be noted that there will obviously be many more 'hidden territories' where cannabis is grown too. Also many areas previously unsuitable for cannabis cultivation are now being used as a result of the development of hydroponics. Jessop reported in 1996 in The New Zealand Herald that hydroponic cultivation systems were being employed in areas most unlikely for drug cultivation. Here it was seen to challenge the outdoors market and perhaps threaten the local industries of cannabis growing in the rural areas.

pictured as being". In contrast he suggests that drug users are now "for the most part (they are) rather ordinary young New Zealanders" (Redmer 1990 :130).

The drug culture of the 1970's was characterised by a growth in the cultivation of marijuana in areas such as Northland, The Coromandel and The Bay of Plenty (see location map in Chapter 4). Here the climate and geography encouraged cultivation on both a personal level, and on a larger scale for profit. The nature of these areas, their isolation from the large conurbations and the vast areas of uncultivated and wild countryside surrounding even the largest of towns made it easy to grow cannabis. It was the geography of the land which made growing drugs a viable and profitable pastime. As The Cannabis Project Report suggested it was the " isolated, small rural settlements [which made] it easier for people to grow cannabis undetected" (Cannabis Project Report 1995 :12). It was argued in the 1970's that approximately half the marijuana smoked was locally grown (Redmer 1990). Growing cannabis became a cult activity, books were produced on it, and were subsequently banned, and it emerged as a topic in popular literature and cartoons. In Figure 6.1 a cartoon form The New Zealand Herald is shown and demonstrates how drug cultivation is perceived as a popular pastime in rural New Zealand. It also refers quite strongly to the traps and defenses used to protect crops from intruders, these ideas relate well to notions of privacy in rural areas which I will return to later.

By the 1980's the culture of cannabis cultivation and smoking was ingrained in certain groups of the population, but by then the whole culture of New Zealand was changing. The 1980's were characterised by a rise in unemployment, predominantly effecting the disenchanted Maori population. For many young Maori this dissatisfaction was best expressed by adherence to the Rastafarian culture, it allowed a physical expression of that discontentment, and marijuana smoking was entry into the world of Rasta. The informal economy surrounding cannabis cultivation thrived under such

conditions especially given that the areas where growth was easiest in terms of climate were also those which suffered the most from unemployment, and which were dominated by the Maori population. It was soon the case that "for many cannabis growing [was] an economic solution, for others it [was] a crutch to help them escape the realities of a workless environment" (Cannabis Project Report 1995 :12). Cultivation of marijuana soon became the biggest cash crop in Northland (Redmer 1990).

By the 1990's these patterns have been extended and drug cultivation is a common feature of the rural landscape in much of New Zealand. Whilst I was there carrying out research there were frequent articles in both national and local newspapers and on other media networks reporting on crop seizures or the escalating problem of drug use. Many focused on the Maori population, on unemployment and on particular rural areas as the key features of the phenomenon and further intensified generalisation and stereotypes surrounding images of the drug culture. It was hard not to simply be swept along by these reports and accept them as a reflection of reality, I had to ensure that whilst I was carrying out my own research I was questioning them with the same intensity that I had used in Britain. Figure 6.2 demonstrates some of these articles which have influenced my train of thought for this part of the research..

Figure 6.1 A cartoon in The New Zealand Herald illustrating the popularity of cannabis cultivation in the rural landscapes.

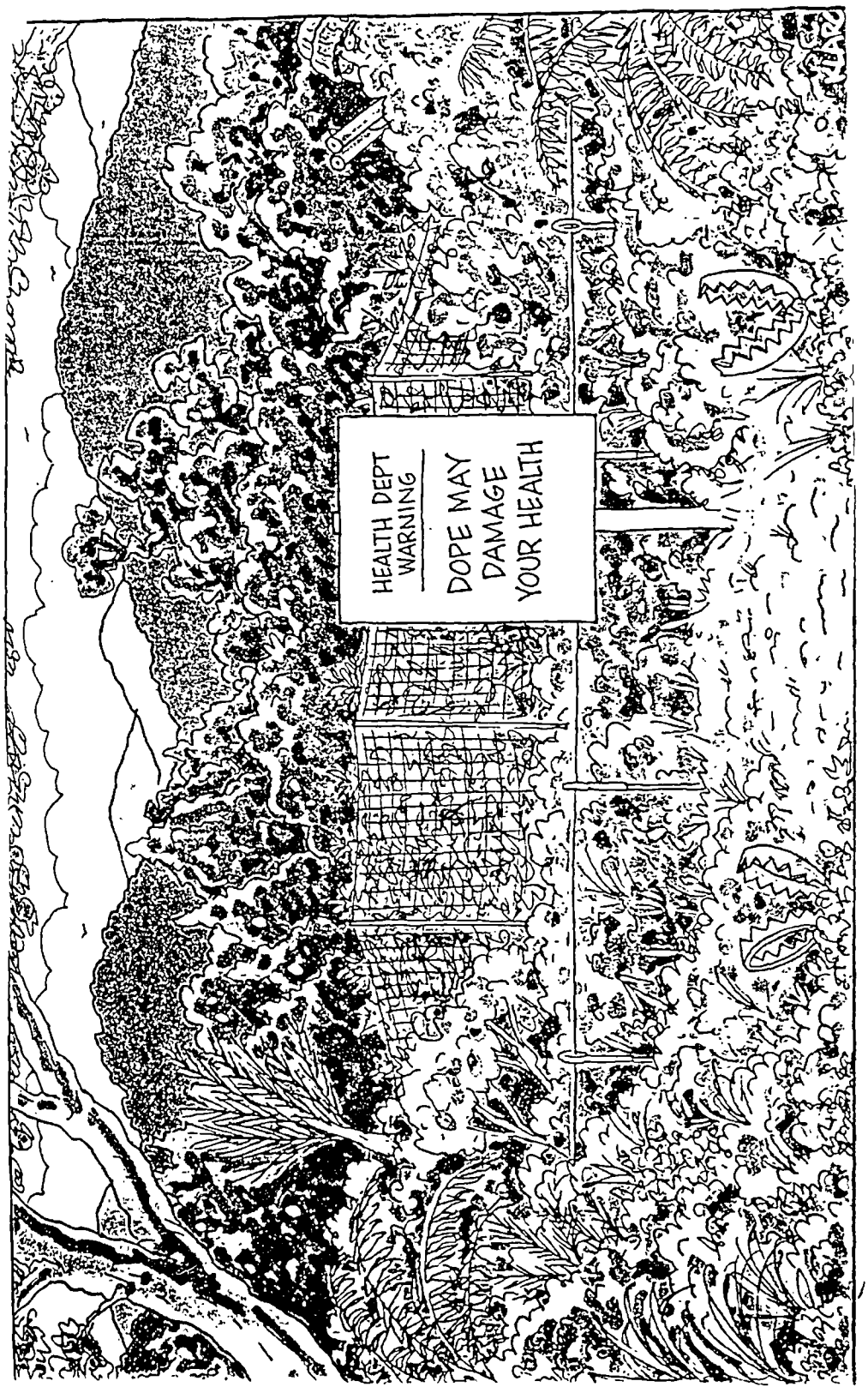


Figure 6.2 Newspaper articles demonstrating the growth of the drug culture in New Zealand.

THE DOMINION

THURSDAY SEPTEMBER 21 1995

Cannabis road with no exit

Drug-related

THE RUNANGA o Te Rarawa tribal au thority showed commendable diligence in its survey of cannabis use in the Far North, and courage in making the results public Establishing the facts, however unpleasant, and bringing them into the open is always preferable to brushing them under the carpet

The facts are certainly cause for deep concern The report describes cannabis use as of "epidemic proportions", permeating every aspect of Te Rarawa life Of Maoris living in the area, 39 per cent smoke it regularly, 25 per cent used to smoke it, and only 36 per cent said they did not use it at all

Many use the drug in conjunction with alcohol and cigarettes, and it is affecting health, memory and motivation Most appalling of all, some people are giving it to children as young as three and four — "for a laugh". The Far North has enough problems without adults impairing or destroying children's chances in this way

Besides the blatant illegality shown by growers and users, pride in Te Rarawa must be very low for the situation to have be come so bad It would be idle to speculate how much people turn to cannabis because they feel demoralised, and how far the use of the drug has contributed to their demoralisation Either way the report says many youths see growing cannabis as the only way to make money, and the elders seem to have lost the will to confront the problem As a result, it hangs like a pall over Te Rarawa's future

There are some sad ironies here In the June quarter Northland had an unemployment rate of 9.6 per cent, against 6.2 per cent nationally Yet the motivation that gets some young people going apparently to grow and smoke — a crop that will not only keep them on the margins of society, but also harm their own people's health, job prospects, and relationships (through the link they see with domestic violence) And the more they come to rely on it, the worse their plight will become

Not surprisingly the fact that the cannabis trade is among the biggest and most lucrative in the Far North is not reflected in any general improvement in housing and living standards

This calls into question the report's finding that no intervention which ignores joblessness inadequate housing and low educational achievement is likely to succeed What then are the cannabis communities

Cannabis – the real extent of its impact especially among New Zealand's young is our shameful secret.

EVERYONE knows of marijuana cannabis pot, weed, grass . Someone else s kid smokes it There's the Aotearoa Legalise Cannabis Party pushing its merits It's a multi million dollar industry which makes criminals rich and the police don't like that

But who wants to acknowledge its real impact on the rest of society? Who wants to confront head on, its implication in road accidents, youth suicide, school failure, teenage ill health, long term unemployment and crime? (More than 21,000 offences involving cannabis were reported to the police in 1995)

Very few Easier to heave over the cliff the most serious problem of young people caught up with cannabis to an ambulance of community workers squashed by overload or palm it off on to under resourced and under trained school staffs

In the wider community police don't even test for cannabis specifically in drivers as they do for alcohol – they don't even know what passes as a high level of delta 9 tetrahydrocannabinol (THC), the active ingredient, in the blood

DIANA DEKKER

There is no doubt cannabis plays a part in New Zealand's high – the worst in the world – teenage suicide rate

Problems caused by it escalate in schools but principals fear if they are honest about the extent of it they will lose pupils Who wants to keep their kid at a school where there's no doubt there's a drug problem?

One Wellington principal believes – off the record – that in each local college with up to 1000 students across the social board there are probably about 40 seriously affected by cannabis

"It's absolutely a big problem," he adds He sees a mixture of denial and attempts to deal with the problem

The attitude is sometimes that if it isn't smoked on the school grounds it isn't the school s problem Students who are caught with the drug are often suspended as if the problem is entirely their's, though they've often only got hold of it at school

When young people are identified by totally unacceptable, usually criminal, activity as having difficulties with cannabis,

Drugs-Marijuana Cultivation

Police grab 16 tonnes of cannabis in Northland

By Heather Ayrton

KAIKOHE — Almost 16 tonnes of cannabis was seized by police in a four-day ground and air recovery exercise in the Kerikeri, Kaeo and Kaikohe districts this week.

The officer in charge of the Highland drug squad, Detective Sergeant Mike Goodison of Whangarei, said 26,000 plants, some 2.5m tall, were burned in the operation

"It had been an ideal cannabis growing season and the plants had been partly due to the co-operation of the public, he said

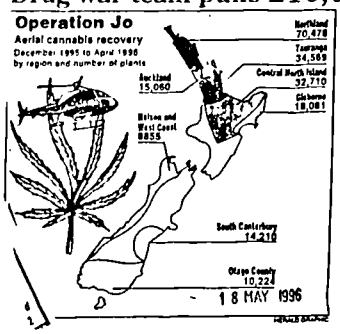
A growing number of people were becoming sick and tired of the problems cannabis was bringing to communities

Of the nine people arrested in the operation, four face indictable cultivation charges.

One of those arrested was a woman

Detective Sergeant Goodison said the plots of 20 to 30 of the major cannabis growers in the area were among those destroyed

Drug-war team pulls 216,000 plants, makes 339 arrests



Drugs - Marijuana - Cultivation

By Lauren Quaintance

Police waging an aerial war against drug growers have seized more than 200,000 cannabis plants in their latest drug recovery operation

The annual five month operation code named Jo, netted 216,000 cannabis plants and led to 339 arrests

Almost one third of the plants were pulled in Northland — the unofficial cannabis growing capital

Police also busted sizeable growing operations in the Coromandel, Tokoroa, Tauranga and South Canterbury.

The head of the national programme, Detective Inspector Harry Quinn, said yesterday that budget restraints had kept the size of the haul down.

The operation's budget was slashed by about one-third, so to reduce costs helicopters were used only in known drug growing patches.

"This year we have been forced to ignore some areas where there is good intelligence to indicate cannabis is growing there," Mr Quinn said

Police were battling increasingly sophisticated drug growing operations, some of which boasted irrigation systems and portable generators

However Mr Quinn said police had noticed a drop in the number of automated dwellers planted by growers to protect their crops

Mr Quinn said Operation Jo was expected to have significant impact on drug growing operations north of Auckland

Several key players in the drug industry were among the 339 people arrested, he said

The street value of cannabis had risen dramatically this year, partly because of several successful police operations

Police also seized 55kg of cannabis leaf, 1536g of cannabis oil, 10,601 cannabis seeds 500g of hashish and some opium poppies methamphetamine and LSD during the programme.

Thursday, September 14, 1995

I.D. Drugs - Marijuana

NATION 14 SEP 1995

'Marijuana epidemic' in the Far North

Every sector of Te Rarawa life affected says commissioned survey

WHANGAREI — Nearly 60 per cent of Ma ori living in Te Rarawa in the F r North are aware of serious cases of cannabis, according to the results of a Te Puni Kokiri-commissioned survey

It falls of the statistical survey, carried out by the Kaitaia based tribal authority Te Runanga o Te Rarawa for the Ministry of Maori Development were not released

It shows 39 per cent of Maoris living in Te Rarawa district smoke cannabis regularly

According to the survey, 50 per cent of cannabis users smoked the drug at sporting and social functions This compared with 31 per cent who smoked at home and 7 per cent who smoked at school

All life rugby and rugby league clubs surveyed agreed that between 60 and 70

Te Runanga O Te Rarawa said in its report that cannabis use by Maoris living in the Far North had reached epidemic proportions

It linked joblessness inadequate housing and low educational achievement with the widespread use of cannabis and said "no intervention which ignores these factors is likely to be successful"

"Most important as a sample of Te Rarawa it [the survey] reinforced anecdotal

problem and permeates every sector of T Rarawa life " the runanga said.

"Perhaps the greatest cause for concer is the fact that many youth believe th growing cannabis is the only way to mal money in their community "

The runanga said some addicts put the own needs before those of their whana Users and ex users had even commented about how their friends had given cannal to children as young as three and four "I a laugh "

The cannabis industry did not only effect those who used or who grew it but increasingly encroached upon the lives of the general population. What emerged from the growing industry was a changing use of parts of the landscape. What had previously been areas of agriculture or recreation were now often areas which the public were unable to have free access to. Valuable cannabis plantations "turned remote corners of some rural areas into virtual no-go zones" (Redmer 1990 :158). Cultivation spread into the forests and fields and some farmers disillusioned by the failing economy have turned to alternatives such as cannabis cultivation to make ends meet. The rural landscape became not just one of production and recreation but a landscape of fear. As one Northland chief of police argued the public soon became "fed up of feeling scared to walk in the bush, or even on their own land, in case they're confronted by shotgun-wielding dope growers" (in Redmer 1990 :158). McLoughlin's (1991) Motueka epitomised many of these sentiments with many of the population of this small rural town being simply scared to venture into certain places around the town for fear of treading on the paths of the cannabis growers and users[8].

Here notions of private and public spaces within the village differ quite considerably. Where public land is shut off through fear, as a result of cannabis cultivation, the land becomes a potentially private area. This follows closely the ideas from Britain where I suggested that fear surrounding particular areas because of the image that surrounded them, sometimes made areas such as forests or woods inaccessible or private to the general public. Again a space in the village can become a territorial zone.

This idea of public and private spaces and their changing identities with reference to whom and at what times of the day they are used, will come into play later in this chapter where the use of spaces within the villages by young people has changed the image or identity of particular zones. In the

[8] Indeed as I shall show later in this Chapter in Village NZ1 the forest became a landscape of fear for the local population because it was an area which was popular for cannabis growing.

following section of this chapter empirical evidence will be used to illustrate how the supply of drugs is not a purely urban issue and how in the villages I studied certain places became spaces where supply was most likely to occur.

6.3 The geography of supply

In each of the villages I worked in I was particularly interested in how young people gained access to drugs, whether or not their geographical location limited this access and therefore provided constraints to the full participation in the drugs scene. I was interested in whether visits to urban areas had to be arranged in order to access the substances or whether the village communities had their own small-scale systems of supply. Another aspect of inquiry focused on the spatial element of this supply. If the village community adequately supplied its residents with drugs, then were they supplied in particular spaces or locations in the village, and if so in what sort of spaces or places was this happening? Were they removed from public areas or were they simply used in non-conventional time frames?

In each of the villages I worked in the young people did not seem to have any problems in accessing the substances that they wanted to consume. Drug supply was seemingly not problematic in the eyes of those involved. The majority of young people did not appear to have to travel to the towns and cities in order to obtain their drugs, as they were able to obtain them in the village. Most of the young people had their substances supplied directly to the them in the village, and mostly within 24 hours of the request, although some did require more advanced ordering. A trip to an urban centre was only necessitated in the case of a few specialised substances.

What was required however, was a contact with the people who had the supply of drugs. What existed, certainly in Yorkshire and Hertfordshire, was a network of contacts, a chain along which money and substances passed from supplier to consumer. This chain involved individuals such as the dealers themselves, associates from the local community, and peer group

members who were often the final contact from whom the drugs were actually obtained. This chain varied in length between the villages and between social groups. For some individuals simply asking friends was sufficient to get an adequate supply of drugs, for others it involved contact along a wider chain of supply. This chain formed the macro-geography of supply in the village whereby the substances came to actually be in the villages. It seemed that the villages were the end points in the chain of supply and that the people that I spoke to, the links in the chain that I was made aware of, were the final stages in a much longer process[9].

I had expected to see differences between the ease to which drugs were supplied in Yorkshire and Hertfordshire due to their differing proximity to urban areas, and also between the villages in each area for reasons relating to their size and locations. This was however not the case, and in each area few limits were expressed by the young people as to how easily they accessed substances. I questioned the young people on how easy it was to get hold of substances, where they were obtained from and what degree of planning was required[10]. In the following quotes it can be seen how there are few differences in the experiences of young people in Yorkshire and Hertfordshire and the ease to which they can obtain a variety of substances. Sophie and Pete from Yorkshire talk about how different substances are obtained and illustrate how marginal planning is required to obtain what they wanted;

> *Cannabis you can get almost anywhere now, LSD like we said is almost impossible to get so you have to go to the city to get it.*

[9] The chain of supply obviously extended from the supply of drugs into Britain, through to the main dealers in the major cities obtaining them, through to the lower key dealers distributing them to consumers. I would suggest that supply begins in the urban arena and extends to the smaller rural locations after some time.

[10] Here I rely wholly on the young people themselves telling me truthfully about the ease as to which they can obtain substances. I felt that the majority were telling the truth, but obviously there was no real way in which I could determine the whether I was correct in my assumptions or not. In Chapter Four I talked in detail about questioning the validity of the information gathered and in all the empirical chapters these issues again come into play. I proceed assuming that the information gathered is accurate and question its validity only when I feel it is necessary to do so.

Ecstasy and speed you can get from around here it depends on how long you want to wait for it...[Sophie aged 15 Village Y1]
And if you know the right people....[Pete aged 17 Village Y1]
Yeah if you know the right people, you can say can I have this and you can have it by the day after, or they will get it by the next week or something.

The second quote David in Village H1 echoes these sentiments and illustrates how this chain of supply worked from beyond the village to within it.

People go out to get it, but then they will get it and bring it back and then it is quite easy to get hold of, but like you have got the odd few who will go out and get it from other places. [David aged 15 years Village H1].

In Yorkshire, Village Y1 was far closer to the urban areas of Bradford and Leeds than Village Y2, and yet from talking to the young people there were few really distinguishable differences in their ease of access to substances. I had imagined that the young people from Village Y2, as it is more remote, would only be able to access the more common substances such as cannabis and LSD and that substances such as ecstasy and heroin and the 'harder drugs' would be obtained only from the urban areas and more infrequently. I had felt that for some substances the chains of supply would therefore extend to within the village boundary and for others there would be greater concerns surrounding ordering of the drugs or movement to other areas to obtain them.

This was true to some extent. The young people from Village Y2 did have to go to the nearest town to obtain certain substances, but that town was small and relatively close to Village Y2, and many of the young people traveled there for school or social activities anyway. The ease to which they were able to access substances was therefore not noticeably different from the responses the young people in Village Y1 gave. The quotes below illustrate some of these ideas and show how easy it was to get hold of most of the drugs in Village Y2. In the first quote Laura and Bryony talk about

the experiences they see of drug use in Village Y2, and in the second Jon talks about his own use.

> [Liz] IF YOU WANTED TO GET DRUGS AROUND HERE IS IT EASY?
> *[Laura aged 14] Yeah, you could just ask lads around here taking drugs here and they would get it for you by the next day.*
> [Bryony aged 14] Or there is one lad here that lives in Y2 and there is one that lives in another village and a few lads.
> *There are a few people who are drug dealing and then like the people who take the drugs in Y2 and they don't deal them but they can get them for you from people they know for you.*
> DO PEOPLE TEND TO GO TO THE LARGER LOCAL TOWNS AND GET A LOAD AND THEN COME BACK HERE TO DEAL IT?
> I don't know what does .....do?
> *A lot go to a local large town every day on the bus for school and stuff and like then they will just get it off a mate and come back and take it.*
> SO WHERE DO YOU SCORE THE DRUGS? AROUND HERE?
> *Yeah you can get a few drugs around here but for the harder drugs you have to go into town.*
> Not all the times though.
> *Well I wouldn't know about that.*

> [Liz] WHERE DO YOU GET YOUR DRUGS FROM? IN THE VILLAGE?
> [Jon aged 16 years Village Y2] I can get them in Y2, not everything in Y2 just cannabis, I can get anything I want as hard as brown in the town, but I wouldn't do brown I might try cocaine but I would never do heroin, never inject.

In Hertfordshire similar systems of access and supply were illustrated. Again chains of supply existed whereby individuals would know who to contact and where and when in order to get the substances that they required. I had thought that in Hertfordshire there would be easier access to a wider variety of drugs because of the close proximity of the villages H1, H2 and H3 to London and indeed to many large towns. There were in reality no significant differences between the two regions[11].

[11] In fact I would suggest that the young people in Villages Y1 and Y2 gave me an impression that they had easier access to drugs than the young people in Hertfordshire did. This may have been the result of them not wishing to seem isolated or 'countrified' in the impressions they gave out, or it may have been that this situation was recent and so they were keener to dispel the myth that rural drug use did not exist.

For the more natural substances, such as magic mushrooms, there was obviously a geography of supply in the village that related not only to an individual being able to get hold of the substance, but also that it was actually produced there. What was interesting was how the young people in Yorkshire did not talk about the local growth of magic mushrooms and yet the young people in Hertfordshire did. This was contrary to what I thought would happen, where I had believed that the young people in the more rural districts of Yorkshire would be more likely to see local growth of mushrooms. Rachel and Neil from Hertfordshire illustrate the level of availability of locally grown hallucinogens.

> Yeah very common, you go out in the fields around here I don't think that would be so common in the city because you could buy other hallucinogens, you could buy it rather than just pick it. [Rachel aged 15 Village H3].

> There is a set of woods up by the old A10 in the woods up there, they have been seen up there, they have been picked. Yeah I do know people who have. [Neil aged 17 years Village H2].

In Britain what was occurring was a chain of supply which began far from the centre of the village and which involved individuals at a variety of age related, occupational and social status positions. There was a level of connection between these groups of individuals which sometimes differed between the places and sometimes was very similar.

Patterns of supply however do not end with how it is obtained when one lives in a village, but extend also to where within the village boundary the young people would go to get the drugs. In Britain there was a recognisable micro-geography of supply as well as a macro-geography of supply within each village. This also influenced the way in which certain areas came to be labeled both by the residents of each village and by outsiders.

In Britain areas in the village evolved as landscapes of fear, not because they were associated with the drug cultivation side of supply but because, they were areas where dealers would operate from or where the actual

transactions would take place. Where the drugs were bought and sold became the micro-geography of supply. Here the ideas of public / private spaces in the village and their changing identities comes into play again. Each place that was used for drug supply had an identity or image which was dependent upon who they were being used by and for what purposes. 'The park', 'the bus shelter', the alley way, and hidden parts of the school premises were all 'micro-geographies' of supply. All were theoretically public, yet the supply of drugs remained hidden because suppliers adopted non-conventional time systems of operation, or because they were being used in this way other members of the village avoided these areas. What was originally a public place became a potentially private one. This relates back to the work Waltzer (1986) which I referred to earlier and the way in which streets and parks although public spaces are in fact increasingly private. In the following quotes by Carol, Nicola and Jessica some of these ideas are illustrated. They demonstrate how public places were used in this non-conventional way and how one would not obtain drugs from simply anywhere but in particular places within the village that were known for this activity. The young people therefore created a zone which was territorialised by their use of it.

> Stuff like cannabis because you can get that from anywhere really, parks and that. [Carol aged 14 years Village Y1].

> People go to the garden [park] but not so much at night because it is closed uumm they go down there down the alley way and uumm say I want this they give it to you give them the money and you come out and because it is dark its OK. [Nicola aged 15 years Village H1].

> Well we would go down by the video shop, that's where you would get them, or it would be sorted out in the week. [Jessica aged 15 years Village H1].

In Village H1 some of the young people showed me the areas where the drugs would be bought and consumed. The photograph in Figure 6.3 shows 'The Alleyway' where many of the transactions would take place. It ran alongside the video shop and was centrally located in the village. The young people had free access to it and even when it was daylight it was secluded enough that secrecy was ensured. Figure 6.4 shows 'The Park' another place

where drug supply was common. Here non-conventional time frames had to be adopted, such as after dark, because it was an open space overlooked by some houses and offices[12]. This was a place that the young people carved out for themselves, it was a social space where they 'hung out'[13].

The school grounds and other places where drugs were bought, were therefore points of supply within the village. For some places they were used for drug supply every night, for others it was more sporadic. I myself would question whether the same places would be used night after night, day after day because of surveillance from people in the village. The differences between the Villages in Hertfordshire and Yorkshire were not as pronounced as I had imagined they would be. Similar places in the village were used for the supply of drugs to individuals, and similar chains of supply were used to get them from the urban areas to the rural consumers. What was strikingly similar was the way in which for some substances the chain extended into the village and that for others it did not, and also how for many of the young people their peer group was involved in the chain of supply too.

[12]Although it must be noted that many of the young people did speak of transactions taking place during daylight hours in 'The Park', but that more care had to be taken to ensure that they were not caught.

[13] One interesting point which none of the young people focused on was whether or not the young people that did not participate in drug related activities were also excluded from these areas or whether they were accepted there. I was given no impression by the young people as to what the situation was surrounding the non-users and their use of space.

Figure 6.3 The Alleyway in Village H1.

Figure 6.4 The Park in Village H2.

In New Zealand the issues of supply were far less complicated than in Britain because of the limited types of substances that were used. Alcohol was cited more frequently in New Zealand by the young people as a drug used, and so here I refer to its supply as integral to the process of the geography of supply of drugs in Village NZ1. This compares to the work in Britain where I do not talk about it. In Britain the young people seemed to use alcohol more infrequently and it seemed to hold less significance to them as a drug. They could get away with drinking a lot more easily than they could taking drugs. In New Zealand this was very different, there was a greater emphasis placed on alcohol consumption by the young people, maybe because a smaller variety of other substances were being used and maybe because when it was being used it was being taken in a more abusive way.

In New Zealand alcohol was obtained from the local shops where older adolescents were legally able to purchase it, or it was obtained from the home. Cannabis was readily available from within the village because much of the supply was grown in the local area. Here the geography of supply was a far more self-reliant system, based almost totally upon what was available locally. This relates well to a whole ethos in New Zealand which I would suggest stems from feelings of self sufficiency which are integral to the culture there[14]. Although for some when the growing of cannabis was not an option, supply was still reliant upon a chain between cultivators, dealers and users. There was less need to rely upon the outside urban area to obtain drugs because the people from the local community, and the geography of the local environment, provided all that was needed. Other substances were not used so frequently and when they were required it was a choice of the individuals involved to travel to larger urban areas to obtain them if the local community failed to adequately supply them.

[14] I was aware whilst in New Zealand of this self sufficiency many of the people I met were involved in building their own homes, they cooked home cooked food a lot and did not seem to rely on consumer goods the way in which the British population did.

The growing of cannabis in the vicinity of Village NZ1 was a topic that many of the young people focused on during the discussions. To them it was a facet of rural life, a result of the geographical and climatic conditions of the area, and of the rising unemployment and poverty. I was aware that the generalisations surrounding drug use and poverty were being reinforced by the young peoples statements and I was aware that their thoughts may have been influenced by these ideas. It was also thought to be associated with the Maori population more than the Pakeha population, and there was therefore distinct racial tones surrounding the image of the cannabis industry[15]. Again I had to scrutinise what the young people were telling me ensuring that they too were not simply being carried along by the images surrounding drug use. In Village NZ1 the cannabis industry was quite sufficiently developed, local requirements for this drug seemed more than adequately supplied by a small scale 'cottage industry' which had developed in and around the village. The locally grown cannabis ensured that many public areas in and around Village NZ1 were in reality private or secluded from public use. The forest in particular became a landscape of fear because much of the local cannabis supply was grown there. The use of the land therefore changed, both in real terms and in terms of the image that was portrayed to outsiders.

It is this changing use of the land that many of the young people I spoke with referred to when talking about drug supply in their village. The supply of drugs for many was not so much a question of who you had to have contact with to get your supply, but where you could grow your own supply. Drug cultivation was a common occurrence in the community, one which the young people felt was the result of a number of factors. As Warwick argued;

> Marijuana, [its the geography of] the place, the weather, the forests, the pine trees. So when people say drugs belongs to the cities well its towns like this where its grown....but its unemployment and youth that's the problem, rather than the soil or climate of geographical area. A fair bit of work still has to happen to make it grow- so its more to do with unemployment, high youth unemployment and these sorts of

[15] Although it must be noted that many of the young people did not agree with these ideas of racial links with drug cultivation.

> factors. If you couldn't grow marijuana here you would have a town full of petrol or glue sniffers. Its stupid to grow it in your back yard so people grow it in the forest. Many do not smoke it but grow it because its financially viable to do so and they see older people doping it.....Addicts tend to grow two crops one that they will look after and pluck out leaves whilst seedless heads etc. and grow one just to sell for bulk. (Warwick aged 18 Village NZ1)

Many of the young people seemed to think that drug use was an accepted part of the rural community. It was obvious that it was going to happen because they were surrounded by bush and a vast expanse of natural landscape where drug cultivation could be easily hidden from the public eye. In the following quotes the acceptance of drug cultivation in the local community is expressed by four females from Village NZ1. In this group interview they talked in detail about the 'cottage industry' of cannabis cultivation. To them it was simply a part of everyday life.

> [Mariella aged 16 Village NZ1].All sorts [of drugs go on here], marijuana and other drugs because we are surrounded by bush they plant their crops between other plants. When you go right up into the depths of the forest or bush you are bound to find them, somebody's patch. Once you see them most people want to rip them out but if you do the people whose crop it is will get them for ruining it.
> [Sophie aged 17 Village NZ1] *Everyone has got their own little spot, in the bush and in the forest.*
> [Clare aged 17 Village NZ1] Especially in this area where there is so much land and everyone has got their own little spaces or whatever, with the odd one or two plants at home.
> *You usually know someone who has got a big crop. There is always several people around the town that you know. They have always got it and if they haven't they will know someone who has. Some people have been growing it all their lives, known as druggies or sellers.*
> [Rachel 15 years Village NZ1]. **Its mostly adults that grow but increasingly more kids are doing it. In some places is you go to a dealer and they haven't got any you can go around the corner to the next dealer.**

The young people argued it was common to see people who were unemployed enjoying financial freedom believed to be the result of drug cultivation and dealing. It had become an informal economy in Village NZ1 which provided a sense of purpose and financial support beyond that which

the state could supply. Hannah from Village NZ1 talked about the place that her mother lived in the forest and how so many of the population there were involved in drugs cultivation. She stated that:

> You can tell who does it because they are unemployed and they drive Harley Davidsons, got the flashiest car in town. Like where my mother lives in the forest every second house has got a Harley Davidson, that's their living. If that's gone they will be poor until the next season. Plenty do, or as a side income. [Hannah aged 18 years Village NZ1][16].

But drug cultivation extended beyond simply the growing of the drugs in the rural environment, it also involved the influence it had upon the changing use of the forest area. As I stated earlier in and around Village NZ1 the forest which was the main source of employment in the area, and had in recent years changed from being simply a landscape of production and leisure, to a landscape of fear as well. The cultivation of cannabis had ensured that much of the forest was being used in this 'alternative way' and that what had previously been a public space with free and open access for all, was becoming increasingly private because the general population feared being caught in traps, or being apprehended by drug dealers guarding their plots. As I illustrated in Figure 6.1 New Zealanders in general were quite aware of the increasing fear surrounding forests and other natural landscapes because of the traps that were present there. Figure 6.5 illustrates a Newspaper article from The New Zealand Herald in 1996 which shows some of the articles used to protect cannabis crops. In it what can be seen are examples of sawn off shot guns, razor blades and nails on wood which were all used to protect the crops.

Many of the young people spoke about this fear of the forest, how it was now a place to avoid if at all possible and how it had become so private, and so secret, that it was almost a mystery as to what actually went on there. Whilst I was staying in Village NZ1 I expressed a wish to walk in the forest,

[16] I found it very difficult not to simply accept these arguments and to regard them with a more critical eye. I was aware that many of the young people, especially the Pakeha children, would have had their own personal views influenced by the attitudes of their parents rather than perhaps by what was really occurring.

but was told by my hosts that it would be better to drive around the edge than to venture into the depths where I could encounter dangerous situations. In the following extracts Adam and Vicki talk about this fear of the forest and how its use had changed from being a public place, to a landscape of fear, a potentially private place.

> [The use of the forest has changed in recent years] you probably wouldn't go there for recreational use, they might take another option and go for a bush walk but you never know people might set traps up there, possum traps they are real bad no-one wants to get those. I think that there should be more done to stop growers. [Vicki aged 17 years NZ1].

> People are a lot more paranoid in the city, its a lot more expensive and a lot harder to get. Growers there are a lot more sophisticated there. Here its just someone with a few plants, in the city people more grow it for a profit. I've seen a factory of growers using hydroponics and UV lights. Its distributed usually, well often by gangs. Here your dealer is your mate, or your brother, or your friends and in Auckland and that its just some guy you are going to and he is doing it for the money. [Adam aged 18 Village NZ1]

Figure 6.5 The tools used in the protection of the rural cannabis supply.

WARNING

Booby-traps in marijuana plots can maim—or kill—the unwary

By MATT GREENOB

THESE pictures show the frightening paranoia of New Zealand's cannabis growers.

The lethal booby traps—captured by police cameras—are graphic evidence of the lengths criminals will go to to protect their lucrative marijuana plots.

"The growers are distrustful and paranoid about other druggies stealing their plants," said Detective Senior Sergeant Jeff Gunn, head of Operation Diana that this season recovered 225,566 plants, 121,381 seeds and more than 3000 poppies.

"So the the growers set these traps. It's a dog-eat-dog world they're living in."

So far police officers have not fallen victim to the dangerous traps, aside from cuts caused by razor blades inserted in marijuana plants.

But they still fear serious injury and even death at the hands of growers.

"It's only a matter of time before it happens," says Gunn.

"We are lucky we haven't encountered explosive devices yet. They are using them in Australia."

During their raids on cannabis plots, police have discovered:

- A sawn-off shotgun strapped to a tree with a trip wire to set it off. It was loaded, and aimed at knee height.
- Fish hooks suspended at eye-level on a nylon fishing line.
- Cyanide paste, which can be fatal to humans if inhaled
- Stakes or pieces of wood with protruding four-inch nails, laid between the plants.
- A brass cylinder adapted to hold a shot gun cartridge. It was set to go off with a mechanism involving a trip wire. The device wasn't detonated, but the results would have been almost identical to firing a shot gun.

Even smalltime backyard growers have set booby traps.

During Operation Maria in New Plymouth, a man was seriously injured by a trap set in a crop of 12 plants grown in patch alongside a grower's garage.

The trap consisted of a 1.5-metre hole containing possum traps and wood with protruding nails. The trap was covered with netting and camouflaged.

The victim was hospitalised, and the grower convicted of cultivation and of setting a man trap.

"Setting a man trap is a very serious offence," said Gunn. "These people don't realise it though."

The maximum sentence is five years in jail. Landowners who know traps have been set on their properties also face up to three years in jail.

But Gunn said: "If we find traps in a plot then we get much keener to catch the grower.

"Quite often it's hard to find who is responsible for a plot in the bush.

"But if there are traps, we'll try very hard to get them.

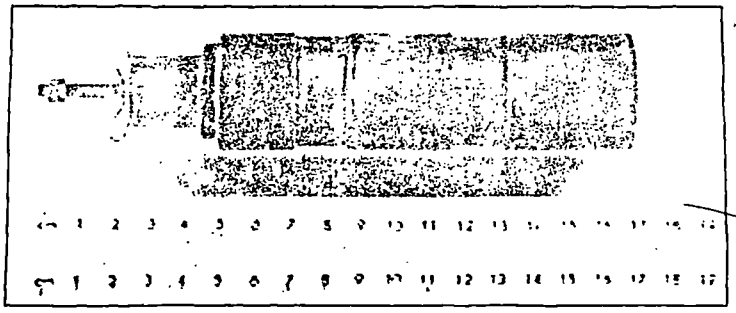
"You don't set up things like that without the intention of injuring or killing somebody."

Gunn says 86 firearms were recovered during Operation Diana, and some growers are facing firearm charges.

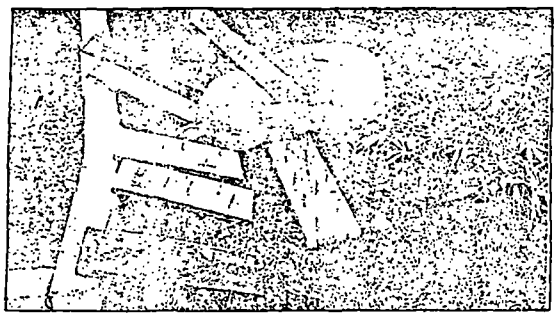
"The operation was a real success this year, we took out some big commercial cultivators."

CUTTING EDGE: Razor blades in marijuana plant stems—a common threat to police

GUN SHY: The sawn-off shot gun with a trip wire found by a Te Puke constable.



BRASS BOMB: Brass cylinder adapted to fire a shotgun cartridge. Detonated by a trip wire, it could easily kill



TO THE POINT: Four-inch nails through pieces of wood and camouflaged—set by a home grower

Supply of cannabis to the village people was therefore not problematic in any real sense, it simply required a degree of planning and commitment to the drugs culture. For other substances more committed planning was required in order that the substances were obtained as and when required. For the majority it was suggested that more 'exotic' substances required movement to the towns and cities to obtain them. The chain of supply in the village itself was less exotic too, because for the majority all that was required could be provided locally. For those who required substances which could only be provided in the urban areas, the chains of supply did not extend out to the rural and this was one of the most significant differences between Britain and New Zealand. Here being in a rural are mattered when it came to the use of substances apart from alcohol and cannabis.

In New Zealand the use of space within the village for the supply and consumption of drugs was very different to Britain. Public spaces were not necessarily used to buy and sell drugs, often it occurred at the house of a dealer, or of someone who simply happened to have more drugs than they actually required, a friend or a colleague. Their use of space was far more random than in Britain and I felt that places were less likely to be labeled as spaces of drug supply because of this. In the following quote Lucy from Village NZ1 suggests;

> We have drug houses. Everyone knows where they are. You just have to park down one street and one person goes and knocks on the door, give her $20, she puts it down her top and closes the door and comes back with the drugs - there you go. A man down another street. I think there will be about 3 or 4 houses where you can get it. People sell it openly. No questions asked. [Lucy aged 17 years Village NZ1].

In the same interview Jacqui suggests;

> For me I just go to one of my uncles houses and that....its much easier than buying alcohol around here you don't need ID!!!. [Jacqui aged 17 years Village NZ1].

In New Zealand it seemed that the supply of drugs was more of personal process with the young people going to friends houses to buy the drugs or were simply involved with some form of growing cannabis themselves.

In conclusion, it can be seen that for the supply of drugs there was both a chain of supply which related to how the drugs were brought into the village, and also a chain of supply where within the village boundary individuals would actually go to buy the drugs from dealers of friends. Specific places were used for this activity and therefore the ways in which places in the village were regarded were changed. What resulted were particular micro-geographies of supply and through this changing definitions of places within the village occurred. In the following section the idea of micro-geographies will be applied to areas where consumption of substances occurs within the villages. Here the notion of public and private space comes back into play where areas which are open to the public become used in private and discreet ways and therefore become shut off to certain groups of the population at certain times.

6.4 Micro-geographies of consumption in the village.

In each of the villages the young people were questioned about the places and spaces within the village boundary where drugs were consumed. I had carried out the research with a preconceived idea that there would be patterns of movement between rural and urban areas for this activity. I felt that the young people would generally consume their substances in the urban environment, at a nightclub, at a party or simply in an urban place where they could ensure anonymity and freedom from surveillance. This preconception did not reflect what I was told in my fieldwork. The young people were able to, and did frequently, consume a variety of substances within the village environment and it was not simply the softer drugs that were consumed in this way. The village was not so much a place where privacy was limited but a place where it could be created, by their use of space and the ways in which the spaces used had emerging territories. This was possible if certain time-

frames were adopted for the use of those spaces, or if individual's or groups use was quite defensive or territorial and other people were therefore excluded through fear.

In Chapter Five it was seen how substances were used at certain social events and that there was a code of conduct surrounded by rules stating in which social situation it was appropriate to use each substance. But there was not only a code of conduct for each substance which referred to the social situations in which the substances were taken, but a code of conduct concerning where in the village these substances were taken too[17]. The code of conduct was therefore sequentially placed onto the physical landscape by those involved, and certain areas became 'permitted' drug taking zones. In this respect a micro-geography of consumption emerged in each of the villages of study as well as a micro-geography of supply[18].

In Britain the places used for the consumption of drugs were not as 'private' as I had anticipated they would be[19]. I had expected them to be used in the home, in nightclubs, at parties and other events which were centered around the music and culture of young people. I had not expected use to occur on an everyday basis within the confines of the village. In reality many of the places used for the consumption of drugs were not immediately associated with this type of activity, they were just 'normal' places within the village which were used for a number of activities not related to drug use, as well as drug using activities. They were not particular 'cultural' centres such as pubs, nightclubs, youthclubs where one would have expected to see a high level of drug use but were also unassuming public places within the village[20].

[17] These social situations I refer to include nightclubs, parties, meetings among peer groups and other social events at a variety of scales.
[18]The young people were initially hesitant about talking about these areas, as they had been about talking about the places where drugs could be obtained from. This discomfort was avoided through building up trust with the young people and making them aware that I would not repeat information to people in authority. This does place me in a potentially difficult situation as within this thesis I am unavoidably repeating much of what has been conveyed to me.
[19]By privacy here I refer to a place which is physically cut off from general access, requiring a person to belong to that place either continuously or at particular times.
[20] Although where these cultural sites did exist drugs were used there as well.

It was interesting to see how the use of space did not alter much between the five villages in Britain. Again I had expected to see the places used for drug consumption to vary between the areas. This variance I thought would relate to the size of the village and its geographical layout, where these public spaces were in relation to housing, to schools, to shops and community centres. I had also thought that some variance would be related to the demography of the village as well, given the idea that the gender and age of participants would relate to the places that were used too. The reality, as indicated by my interviewees, was that there were few differences between the areas or between different groups of young people in each area. It was easy from talking to them to establish that certain places were labeled as spaces where drug consumption would occur and others where it would not.

In the five study villages in Britain it was places such as the park, the alley way, the school grounds, the bus shelter where the drugs would be consumed if they were to be taken in the village. The places used for consumption therefore followed a similar pattern to the places used for drug supply. Again it was often a general place in the village that was used rather than only at a particular social events or in someone's house, although drugs were taken in these places too. This was an interesting point, if the same places were used for drug supply and consumption then were the young people not risking being found out? Would the dealers be happy that the places used to off load the drugs were also being used to take them? This did surprise me, but I felt because the use of drugs was so small scale, compared to the urban scene, and that because many of the local dealers were in fact members of the peer group who were also involved that this dual use of areas was in fact acceptable. Or was it indeed that the young people were generally not concerned about levels of privacy?

Erica talks below about how social codes of conduct existed for each substance. What is demonstrated is how the young people were acutely aware of where it was acceptable to use each substance and where it was

not. Erica talks about how some substances could be used in the park but how others had to be used in more structured social situations.

> I think there are some people who will take it in the park and that, drop a tablet when they are just sat there. I think that is proper waste of money. [Erica aged 15 years Village Y1].

Caroline establishes a social code of conduct for the acceptability of use of ecstasy but only in more structured social situations.

> Well with ecstasy they would take it if they go to a nightclub they wouldn't take it if they were just going out here, but if they are going to a nightclub. They smoke draw and that all the time. [Caroline aged 14 years Village H1]

It seems therefore that in both Yorkshire and Hertfordshire social codes of conduct were in place establishing 'rules' by which the young people organised where, and when, they could take each substance. Once this had been established, the places in the village where it was acceptable to take the 'village centred' substances were confirmed by most of the young people. In Yorkshire it was the bus stop, or on the streets, between the houses and the school, or in the school grounds, or even sometimes in someone's house where the drugs were taken. Bryony and Pete discuss these aspects of the drug scene in villages Y1 and Y2 below.

> All we do is sit in the bus stop every night and do nowt, its boring watching everyone else take drugs. [Bryony aged 14 years Village Y2].

> Both really mainly at a club but if there is nothing else to do around here not on the streets we wouldn't do it [Ecstasy] on the streets if we were at a house I'd probably do it anyway, it doesn't really matter about that....I don't know how to say it without sounding really bad....not in such a large dose...like if you were here you wouldn't take so much...I make myself sound awful don't I .....would do probably do a larger dose at a club because you are out. [Pete aged 17 years Village Y1].

In Village Y1 the young people were unable to use the park as a place for taking drugs, unless they broke in, because it was closed off after dark when

much of this activity would occur. Here the public space of the park had become an increasingly private space[21]. Similar ideas were expressed by the young people in the Hertfordshire villages. Particular places were used to consume substances within the village boundary; the villages there were less exclusionary and the young people had access to a wider variety of social spaces. It was the park and the school grounds which formed the focus of drug consumption or what the young people termed 'free houses' where adults were not present. Three young people from village H1 talk in the extracts below about these issues, and suggest that certain places are used for drug consumption and certain places are not.

> Then you would basically hang around there, in the summer we would go down to the parks and gardens and sometimes people have got free houses and that and so we would go around there, very rarely do them anywhere else because we haven't got any where else to go. [Jessica aged 15 years Village H1].

> Yes we come here or go round someone's house if there isn't anyone there, or go to the park because its dark and there isn't many people there or go to the gardens. We used to go up to Bovis but there are a lot of house there now so usually its down the town or the park, we find somewhere to go where there are not many house or people where we can loose it and have some fun. [Nicola aged 15 years Village H1][22].
> Hang out on the streets and that or the bus stop or go places on the bus and that at weekends. [Andrew aged 15 years Village H1].

A group of young people from Village H1 took me to these places in the village so I could see for myself how public or private they actually were. I was allowed to take photographs of these places too as long as none of the young people were featured in them. I remember one girl feeling concerned that none of the other young people should become aware of what she was showing me. Her concerns were that these private places, (even though they were actually public in the true meaning of the word), risked becoming

[21]This is a similar idea to what I refer to in Chapter One and earlier in this chapter, where Ward (1990) talks of the increasing privatisation of public space in the village. Ward (1990) recognises this in his work arguing that 'play/ recreation' spaces in rural areas have been consistently closed off to young people through the ever expanding 'Trespassers keep out' signs. So for children and young people certain parts of the village become places of exclusion.

[22] Bovis is a housing estate or development on the outskirts of Village H1.

public because an 'outsider' had access to them. I had to ensure confidentiality which in turn ensured that they remained 'private' or removed from public knowledge[23]. The photos below in Figure 6.5 and Figure 6.6 illustrate some of these places within the village. I have since returned to the villages in Hertfordshire and met with one of the young girls there she suggested to me that the places that were used for the consumption of drugs had changed since I had carried out my research that the places they used previously were now used by the younger village members and that her and her peers now had other places where they went to take drugs. This was interesting and made me think more closely about how the use of space alters with time as well with regard to the groups in question.

It was interesting to note that in one interview Ben talked about how the village was used as a place to take the drugs because it was a safe place, a non threatening place to take drugs in. In the following quote Ben, from Village H1, talks about this reason for using drugs in the village rather than outside it.

> Generally I would say that people would smoke a spliff on a night people feel more safe if they are in their own home environment than if they are out in a club and that where they are in danger of not being able to get home or if someone finds them they will be in more danger. So even though people want to do it they are a bit reluctant to do it outside the community that they trust. [Ben aged 16 years Village H1].

[23] Their only concerns seemed to be that I did not divulge information about the places for drug consumption to adults in their village, or to figures of authority in the local area. By using the photographs I am in some ways risking this but the young people were all aware of my intentions and seemed happy with what I proposed to do.

Figure 6.5 A hidden place for drug consumption in Village H1.

Figure 6.6 The back of the changing rooms at the school in Village H1.

In Britain it seemed that certain public places within the village became almost private because of the way in which they were used by the young people. Because they became places for drug consumption. The results emerging here from the villages echoes results found by Newcombe et al (1995) who suggested in their survey of young people and alcohol consumption, that public places such as streets and parks were used by 58% of the alcohol consuming respondents as places in which to take the substance. Not only was this found to be the second most likely place to take alcohol, but it was also the place where alcohol was most frequently consumed (Newcombe et al 1995 :329). In Newcombe's study the young people used places in the village to consume alcohol in excessive quantities and because of the behaviour that followed such consumption the places used were often feared by other members of the community.

For many of the adults in Newcombe's study area, and indeed in my villages of study, these public places often became places of fear, not just because they were where drugs and alcohol were taken, but simply because they are where young people 'hung out'. Corrigan (1979) argues that these public places, when used in non-conventional time frames, become the only autonomous space that young people can carve out for themselves. And young people therefore experience public space, such as the street, as a potentially private space, bringing further into question the validity of the public - private dichotomy (Valentine 1997, 1996). The public spaces of the village when used in non-conventional time frames, such as after dark, or during adverse weather conditions, or when used for non-conventional behaviour such as drug use, become private spaces which exclude certain groups of the population at certain times of the day etc. Here we can refer back to the work of Valentine (1997, 1996) who suggested that paradoxically young people experience the street as a private space and the home as a public space. Through their use by young people as places for 'alternative' activities such as drug use, these places often become zones of exclusion and sites of resistance. Here they are places where the young

people carve out a spatial territory of their own and which are often defended strongly by the young people involved. They were then marginal places which were often excluded to the general population.

In New Zealand similar ideas of particular places being used for the consumption of drugs became obvious through the interviews and discussions with the young people there. There were again particular social rules, or codes of conduct which specified where and in what situation it was appropriate to take each substance. Particular zones in the village were known by the young people as places where one would often find others taking drugs. There was however more debate among the young people as to where these places were, whether or not they even existed, and I felt that the codes of conduct were therefore less tightly defined than they had been in Britain.

For some, drugs could be taken anywhere in the village as long as it was kept hidden from figures of authority. Below Anna suggests that you would try and hide such activities from the public eye, and Adam talks more specifically about the social situations and groupings in which one would take drugs. He argues that these social situations are more important in defining where drugs were taken than the allocation of specific places.

> Anywhere, you wouldn't do it in public, you'd hide away. [Anna aged 16 Village NZ1].

> With friends when you are bored. I wouldn't say there are certain places where you take it. Parties, friends houses, in a social group. [Adam aged 18 Village NZ1].

For others this essential hiding from figures of authority meant that only certain places in the village could be used for drug consumption. These places were similar to those that were used in Britain. They included areas which during certain time periods were very public, including the school grounds and local parks. The idea that these so-called 'public' places could provide the secrecy needed for drug taking was quite interesting. I had

always felt prior to the research that drug use would be kept hidden and would occur in only the most private of places. More generally defined private places such as in the forest and other remote areas did not seem to be used in the same way. Sarah suggests that drug users would try and remain hidden though despite their use of 'public' places;

> Yeah they'd hide, they'd hide up in the bush or around places, on the field in school, by the gym. [Sarah aged 16 years Village NZ1]

The use of the forest as a place for the supply of drugs was also reflected in the use of the forest for the consumption of drugs too. The forest as a landscape of fear was created by both of these uses. Individuals were not only threatened by the traps of cultivators, but were also threatened by users trying to keep their activities secret. For one girl in Village NZ1 who I spoke to, the forest actually provided the privacy needed for drug taking, even though it was a public place. Again the dichotomy of the identification of spaces as public and private places comes into question. What becomes interesting is the way in which in New Zealand, as in Britain, particular areas emerge as territorial zones, used only by particular groups or at particular times of the day and night. They become private areas because of the creation of boundaries and territories which exclude some people from them at certain points of the day.

Some of the young people referred to places of consumption as being socially identified, that they were not so much geographic or physical spaces, but socially defined situations which could occur at a number of physical locations. Here space did not seem to be an important factor in the patterns of drug use. For Clare it seemed that drugs could be taken almost anywhere;

> Just parties, peoples house, down the field. If we do have places we always have different places to go because if you go to the same places the police will sniff you out. And plus its such a wide spread out place you can go to the river and no-one will find you. You might go to someone's house if they have some. [Clare aged 15 years Village NZ1]

For others where drugs were taken was defined in terms of the social groups that the user was involved with. Here the physical environment is used as an expression of social stratification and hierarchy. Vicki identifies the differences between the two social groups that she was most aware of in her peer group. Within this certain places became territorial, defined by each group that was involved and so spaces became feared or private not only for non-users but also for those in different using fractions.

> [There are two groups], one group will smoke it anywhere and there's another which will go to certain places like by the river and that where they can just sit down and smoke it relaxing their mind and blowing out their brain. The others will just smoke it for the sake of it because its their trend. [Vicki aged 17 NZ1].

In Figure 6.7 river in Village NZ1 is shown. It was this area that provided many of the spaces of supply and consumption in Village NZ1.

Figure 6.6 The river in Village NZ1. A micro-geography of consumption for many of the interviewees.

6.5 Supply and consumption: Place and territory in the village.

This chapter has addressed the micro-geographies of supply and consumption of drugs in the villages of study. In all six villages it has been identified that particular areas were used for the supply and consumption of drugs and that social codes of conduct were established and upheld by the majority of the young people about where and when it was appropriate to use each substance. In each of the villages the use of public spaces for the supply and consumption of drugs was significantly involved in the changing identities of places around the village. Here I refer to the increasing privatisation of public space which results from fear, or from social and physical exclusion of particular groups from those environments. Public space within each of the villages has become an increasingly questionable concept, and, where it does remain it is often only public at specific times, or for specific groups. These places change identity as a result of their use by young people, who in turn use them to fully create their own identity and territory, their own private space away from the watchful eye of the adult population. The image or identity of a place therefore changes as its use does, as different groups of people use it in different ways.

However, it is not only the young people, or the drug users and suppliers who are responsible for such changing identities of the landscape as a private or public place, but a whole series of issues surrounding public access to footpaths and farmland which have recently caught public attention. As I suggested earlier Shoard (1980) argues *much of the derelict land that was* used by children as areas of play has recently come to be intensively farmed and the experiences of rurality as a place of freedom and an area for public play for children, has been reduced. It could also be argued that increasing adult supervision in these previously public areas has arisen as a result of the rise in juvenile crime during young people's leisure time. Consequently young people are subjected to severe surveillance even when these areas remain open for public access.

For children and young people these public places are often the only source of privacy from adult supervision The home becomes an increasingly public place (Valentine 1997,1996). These places that the young people carve out are usually where adults do not visit frequently, and are often isolated spaces such as backyards, parking lots, alleyways. They allow the child and young person to carve out a piece of space where identity can be created and sustained. Here, where young people can find such spaces they paradoxically experience public places as private places. In her work in Ireland Ni Laoire (1995) illustrates how young people in rural Ireland created spaces like this for themselves within her village of study. She argues "their ability to control space is extremely limited. Those who live in villages can cope with this by claiming certain spaces as their own, such as for example, the football field, O'Gorman's pub and the street corners" (1995 :7). This compares well with the work I carried out in Britain and New Zealand where the young people I spoke needed to create and sustain particular places which were their spaces, where they could experience some degree of privacy.

In the villages that I studied these public places which originally held some privacy, secluded edges of fields, ditches etc. still held some importance in the creation of zones for drug supply and consumption. They were relatively private because the majority of the population did not use them. Other places, more generally accepted public places such as parks and school grounds were also being used by the young people when the other areas were increasingly shut off to public access. Here the young people used non-conventional time frames, or encroached upon the land so intensely that others in the community felt excluded from it. These spaces used by the young people were both places of retreat and places of interaction, where they could both hide from adult supervision and meet and confront the adult world in a space they had carved out for themselves (Lieburg 1995)[24]. This

[24] Forrester (1993) urban street cultures relate to the winning of space. The goal is to assert cultural autonomy, to mark out the physical landscape in the group's own distinctive fashion.

was quite evident from the research, in all the villages the young people did use these spaces to hide, but also to confront and react against the adult world. The micro-geographies of supply and consumption did not only change the public / private nature of places within the village but also changed the way in which the young people acted, and were therefore reacted to, by the adult world. The young people were creating their own 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1984) whereby norms are established for their parts of the rural landscape, here these activities came to be seen as 'natural' because of the way the young people sustained the place identities.

What was occurring in each of the villages was a process of territorialisation whereby the young people were carving out space for themselves, and by their use of it prevented others from wishing to be there at similar points in time. Places were not simply public and private at different points in time but were actively territorialised by those using them. This space then became off limits to the public, either through fear or through the active creation of a territory, whether that territory was physically or socially enforced. The public private dichotomy becomes supplanted by this active process of territory creation and through the sustaining of it. In many respects this follows the ideas of Lyman and Scott (1970) whose concept of free territory is applicable here. They suggest that;

> Free territory is carved out of space and affords the opportunities for idiosyncrasy and identity. Central to the manifestation of these opportunities are boundary creation and enclosure. This is because activities that run counter to expected norms need seclusion or invisibility to permit unsanctioned performance, and because the peculiar identities are sometimes impossible to realise in the absence of the appropriate setting. Thus the opportunities for freedom and action - with respect to normatively discrepant behaviour and maintenance of specific identities - are intimately connected with the ability to attach boundaries to space and to command access to our exclusion from territories.

In our case the young people create a free territory in particular places within the village landscape. This enables them to carry out substance use away from the surveillance of adult life. The free territory is required because it allows activities which run counter to the expected norms to be carried out. Through boundary formation, through their defensive use of these spaces, places used for substance use become territorialised zones, zones of exclusion for the majority of the population. These free places (Goffman 1961) allow the young people to be themselves, to form an identity which may contradict that which they present to adults or figures of authority. They may not have defined or visible boundaries, but territorial spaces such as these are often simply defined by the presence, or in some cases absence, of particular groups of the population and indeed by the presence or absence of particular activities. This follows the work of Marsh et al (1978) and Fonarow (1995) who both cite examples of the spatial organisation of groups in public places, which consequently means that they become privatised or secluded and not open for general use. Marsh et al (1978) discuss the spatial organisation of football fans in the terraces, and suggest that although different social groups may not be cut off physically from one another, that groups remain defined and separate on the terraces through choice and the need to be with like minded people. Similarly, at the Indie gig Fonarow (1995) suggests a similar pattern of separation exists which is culturally rather than physically imposed by the members of each group.

With respect to young people and their use of space within the village, particular places used in this way are not so much cut off to the public physically, but through the creation of feelings of fear or the employment of other methods of social exclusion. Territory for the young people is something which is actively created, a dynamic process whereby they create and maintain an identity through their use of physical space. As Sack (1986 :5) argues "territoriality is a primary expression of social power" and in our case in the village landscape the young people's creation of territory through their use of space might be seen as a means by which they gain social power.

After all young people are not a group who are seen as holding much power, be it in an urban or a rural landscape.

The significance of the places used for the supply and consumption of drugs therefore increases through an analysis such as this. They are not only significant for their practical functions of being places where particular activities can occur in private or public, but hold a greater symbolic significance about youth cultural groups and their social identity. They become places where the young people can create a territory and a place which can be theirs alone, where they can expel fear onto the outside world and hence retain an identity which is both and separate and different from, the rest of the world. Places are also therefore particular moments in networks of social relations and understandings. They are not static or bounded and are constantly changing in space-time, and this can be seen by the evidence from the empirical work where the identity of places altered with its use and with those who were using it (Massey 1995). The use of particular places by young people is not a constant feature, the young people may move from one place to another as surveillance increases or the risk of being caught becomes a more prevalent reality. Although the young people did not talk of this changing use of places whilst I was researching I would suggest that in the future, different places within the village may be used for the supply and consumption of drugs, and as my return visit to Village H1 illustrated this was in fact the case.

This Chapter has therefore identified one way in which the rural has particular use as a place for drug supply and consumption. A place where young people can create a space for themselves, a territory and an identity separate from the adult world. In the following chapter these ideas will be more fully developed and I will discuss how the rural exists as a place which exhibits both similarities and differences in terms of youth cultures and drug use, from the urban arena analysing whether in reality being in a rural environment makes any significant difference.

Chapter Seven.

Youth cultures, drug use and the rural.

7.1 Introduction.

In Chapters Five and Six the extent, nature and spatial patterns of drug use in the three areas of study was discussed. In those chapters what was identified was the increasing use of illicit substances by young people in each of the areas of study, however remote they seemed to an outsider. Space did not seem to determine the likelihood of an individual's participation in the drugs scene, it was more likely to be determined by personal choice or other factors.

In Chapter Three one of the principle theoretical strands of this thesis was drawn out. It was argued that the study of youth cultures and subcultures has tended to focus on cultural groups that are deviant, reactionary and those that are generally male and working class. I argued against this and suggested that many youth-focused groups tend to be more lifestyle orientated, representing an identity which individuals can tap into periodically as they require, rather than being forced to be fully paid up members of a distinct subculture with particular styles, morals and attitudes and with a greater sense of purpose.

In this, the final empirical chapter, these two themes will be drawn together using evidence from the fieldwork. Here I shall suggest that young people in the study villages were as much a part of the national youth cultural system as one would expect urban youngsters to be. Spatial barriers which I had initially felt would dominate the rural location and therefore inhibit their participation in many aspects of the drug scene, they did not initially seem to play such an important role. But despite the fact that the role of space could be argued as being limited, it did still exist and did present barriers to the uptake of particular cultural phenomena. Here rurality did appear to make a difference in terms of the behaviour, attitudes and indeed culture of rural young people. Throughout I shall argue that although the drugs culture

exhibits many aspects which are in fact universal or national, there are also some which are more specific to particular areas. This local specificity relates to the fact that particular individuals live in particular areas as no one person or area is the same. Here what emerges is a 'pick and mix' approach to culture whereby each area and individual takes up and transforms parts of a wider culture and creates their own culture out of this (Parker and Measham 1994).

In this chapter I shall address these issues of local specificity and will seek to establish whether or not it is rurality which creates particular differences or locality. I shall address issues of local peer group relations, and local restraints which may influence an individuals decision to take drugs. In this chapter I shall discuss aspects of lifestyle and behaviour of young people which are universal, and also those which are more place related and in turn will conclude whether or not rurality still makes a significant difference to the lives of those living there. Does rurality alter the ways in which the drugs culture is received and taken up by the young people living there?

7.2 Non - spatial elements of youthful drug use in rural Britain.

One of the main themes for this thesis was to establish what difference being in a rural area made to the young people living there, in particular with respect to their use of substances. I thought prior to the research that rurality would still make a difference however small or limited that difference was. I did feel that as a result of increasing telecommunications and the transferable nature of many aspects of contemporary culture, that young people in rural areas would experience many similarities to those in urban areas. In particular, similarities in terms of what they wanted to be involved with, and what they related to in terms of culture. In this section of the chapter those aspects of life for the young people in the rural areas of study which appear to be universal, or at least national, and not effected by space or spatial barriers, will be discussed.

One focus of this thesis was to establish the reasons behind the experimentation by young people with illicit substances. I had felt initially that there would be some for whom drug use was a means of relieving boredom, for others that it was a way of maintaining status within the peer group and for some a means of 'escaping' issues in their lives. What also interested me was whether or not drug use by the young people in the villages of study was a means of establishing a link between themselves and wider youth culture. Was drug use something which was fluid enough that they could participate in despite the fact that they were geographically separate from the centres of youth culture in the main urban areas[1].

These reasons did dominate the young peoples explanations for drug use. They fell quite obviously into these three categories of boredom, peer pressure and as a means by which the young people could feel part of the wider culture. Boredom was the first reason many of the young people cited for experimenting with drugs. It was also a reason which I felt would be nation-wide with little distinction between the urban and the rural areas. In Villages H1 and H2 the predominant reason for drug use seemed to be associated with the boredom felt and a lack of opportunity they experienced with respect to other kinds of leisure activities. From their conversations it was obvious that much frustration was felt among some of the young people concerning the environment in which they were situated. Drugs I felt, seemed to alleviate that frustration for them. Emma from Village H1 stated that if there were alternative activities which they could participate in that they would do those rather than take drugs. And David from the same village argued that if they could get into the pubs then more people would drink. For both of these individuals drugs were used because they had few other alternatives and it was readily available.

> Uuumm I think one of the main reasons is that there is not much to do and it is quite easy to get hold of and if you haven't got anything else to

[1] Here I am assuming that the centres of youth culture will be predominantly in the urban areas where the majority of the young people live and where the youth clubs, night-clubs, shops and other leisure based activities will be centred.

> do you think I might as well try it and then you like it and you do it again and again. Also there isn't... we can't go to the pubs and drink we are all too young to drink and so we all take the easy option get what they can. [David aged 15 years Village H1].

> If it was harder to get hold of people wouldn't take it as much, you would still get people who do it because they enjoy it because they think yeah they think its funny, but if there was more to do in the evenings and if it was legal for us to drink a lot more people would take to drinking. [Emma aged 14 years Village H1].

Neil from Village H2 suggested that drugs were simply something to do, something that would take him out of himself. In the following quote he talks as if drugs were simply there, he was simply bored, and that drugs took away that boredom. Drugs had come to be a source of leisure and recreation replacing or supplanting other more traditional forms of entertainment. The fear surrounding the use of drugs had been eliminated and they had come to be a normal part of the leisure landscape for Neil and his friends[2].

> I have them because it is something to do to be perfectly honest, Saturday night its something to do you get bored, roll one up, and it happens, something happens. [Neil aged 17 years Village H2].

Drugs provided an escape from boredom in the village. They were an easy option because as was identified in Chapter Five they were readily available to the majority of the young people who wanted them. In Village Y1 many of the young people suggested that boredom together with the extent to which others were consuming drugs seemed to be a legitimate reason to participate in the drugs scene. Diane from Village Y1 highlights these two reasons and Pete echoes her sentiments. For them drugs were an option for their entertainment, an alternative to alcohol and something that everyone else was doing.

> You're bored you want to know what it feel like, why other people do it.....uum you haven't got anything else to do have you just want to try it to see if you like it...[Diane aged 15 Village Y1].

[2] Later in this chapter I will discuss in further detail the way in which drugs have become normalised by the young people in the three areas of study.

> Mainly I think it is a combination of boredom and everybody else doing it, if everybody else is going to go out clubbing then you don't want to be the only one who isn't , and the same if everyone is going to a club and doing ecstasy then you don't want to be the only one not doing that, so but it's also a case of Saturday night there's nothing else to do you are sick of beer. [Pete aged 17 Village Y1].

This boredom reason for taking drugs is a factor which appears to be non-spatial. The young people cited it as a reason for taking drugs and it seemed to be concerned with their limited attention span and their need to be entertained without having to make specific efforts to be entertained. This need for instant gratification, for instantaneous entertainment which requires little or no effort, I would suggest reflects our reliance in the late 20th century, upon technology and electronic gadgets to make life easier and do a variety of jobs for us. Young people today are growing up in a society which relies upon these external factors for entertainment, rather than individual initiative or efforts, and when these other forms of entertainment fail boredom often results. Drugs are one such source of entertainment which requires little or no effort for instant gratification and are used when other sources fail. In this respect the choice to participate in the drugs scene may be more concerned with the failings of contemporary society than something related to the characteristics of rural life.

But it was not only boredom and the ease with which they could obtain drugs that made the young people participate in the scene, but also the extent to which their peer group was involved. Here it was not simply that everyone else was involved, but that a distinct amount of peer group pressure, whether consciously felt or acted upon, seemed to be in existence. This was true for all of the villages. A conversation I had with a girl called Jessica illustrates some of these ideas. In this extract she suggests that there was not so much an obvious peer pressure that was spoken, but a definite feeling that she ought to try these substances, that she was missing out if she did not. She says;

> I started off doing it when I went to secondary [school]. You start mixing with a whole lot of other people who are older and you start

> hearing about it and they might say try it, and so I started smoking and then there is like a natural progression like the older people are doing it. They didn't say oh here take this or you might as well stop hanging around with us, but you sort of end up having a few sucks of it and then you hear about other stuff. Being as a group of about 4 or 5 of us all started going around together we all started saying shall we take it or shall we not and so we started doing something else then both together and then lots of other stuff, just carrying on and on. I don't think they [my friends] would like look down on you and think you are a complete..... oh like can't hang around with you because you don't do it..... but there is that kind of atmosphere they feel they can't really tell you things that are to do with drugs if you are not doing them yourself, so in a way yeah there is [pressure] because to feel part of the group you have got to do what they do, its like with most things like drink and that. [Jessica aged 15 years Village H1].

These sentiments were echoed by young people in Village H2. James suggested that behind his choice to take drugs was a desire to be a part of the gang which his friends were involved with. It made him feel part of a wider whole culture and facilitated his feelings of belonging.

> I think, like the only reason I took drugs was because all my mates took drugs and it was like more like that I wanted to be like the gang and like.....and I thought I was being one of the gang but it didn't turn out like I was one of the gang in the end I just got bored of it all. But if you don't take drugs and other people are doing it they can really take the mick and that and you feel like left out. [James aged 15 years Village H2].

In Yorkshire there were similar ideas surrounding peer pressure. For the majority it was often not specifically a spoken or enforced pressure but was felt by many of the individuals to be there. For some it was not that their friends pressurised them in any way, but that they heard from them about the feelings that resulted from taking the drugs, and this itself pressurised them or encouraged them into trying drugs. In the following extract from one of the focus groups, a conversation was struck up between some of the young people about the existence of peer pressure within their group of friends. Here Erica and Diane agreed that it was because everyone else was experimenting with drugs that they felt the need to do so also.

> Erica [aged 15 years Village Y1] - I don't think there is much peer pressure here.

Diane [aged 15 years Village Y1] - I think you just see someone doing and you think oh that looks good and so you do it, I don't think anyone forces you to do it do they, they say its up to you.
Liz - DO YOU THINK IT IS LIKE AN UNSAID PRESSURE, BUT TO FIT IN YOU HAVE TO?
Yeah.[Both]
Toby [aged 15 years Village Y1]. - I go around with like there's me and two other people who take drugs and about six others who doesn't, and when one of the ones who didn't started, the ones that didn't we didn't look down on them because it was like our choice and if they didn't want to do it fine.
BUT WAS IT THEIR INFLUENCE THAT MADE YOU START?
Erica - It's the same as smoking and fashion and that, like what was Toby was saying about having to wear certain things to fit in and that, I don't think it as bad as fashion and smoking is, but I think it is there. You feel like everyone else is doing it so should I , there is pressure and I think that is why people start taking it
Diane - People do try and force you don' t they oh like get this and try this and that.

Peer pressure whether spoken or simply implied was evidently a considerable factor in an individuals choice whether to take drugs or not. Initially this also appears to be a non-spatial factor in the drugs orientated lifestyle, peer pressure is likely to affect individuals from both urban and rural areas. What will differ is likely to be the way in which that pressure is experienced and the extent to which it occurs. These factors are likely to be more spatially determined with individuals in each area differing in their experiences from others in other areas[3].

In addition to boredom and peer pressure, many of the young people suggested that drugs had become an integral part of the culture of young people in the late 20th century. They were used by so many young people because that was what young people did. In Chapter Three it was suggested that drugs are no longer simply confined to use by youth groups who are reactionary, deviant and therefore characteristically subcultural in nature, but that drugs have come to form a part of everyday life for many young people. It is not only that drugs are available and that they have become so stylish,

[3] It must be noted however that although spatial elements do seem to be in existence here that the differences in peer pressure may relate more to the individual characteristics of the people involved rather than any spatial variation.

signifying membership of a youth group and status amongst peers that they are used by so many, but also that they have become associated with the fashion and music of youth cultural groups. Drugs have become a fashion item, not simply in that some clothing fashions use drug language and imagery as a selling point, but that drugs themselves are a fashion item in their own right signifying status and belonging and a component of identity formation. In this respect drugs have become a normal feature of everyday life for young people. They are integrated into the clothing styles, the music styles and the whole image that young people now portray to the adult world. The fear surrounding drugs and their use has been eradicated by the young people and have been normalised. They are now an integral facet of contemporary youth culture.

In Chapter Three I discussed the work of Henderson (1993) who suggested that aspects of the rave culture including fashion and drugs, as well as music were increasingly commercialised during the late 1980's. This she argues was the turning point when the whole rave culture changed from something with a subcultural status to a part of the mainstream, and was therefore more widely available to a diverse section of the population. The ways in which drugs have become integrated into mainstream youth culture was discussed with reference to the work of Parker, Measham and Aldridge (1995) who cited magazines, fashion, language and music as integral to this process. In my fieldwork I was surprised to find how knowledgeable the young people were about drugs, how aware of them they were and how much a part of their everyday life they had become. Drugs were a central part of their conversations, their fashion styles, their music tastes. As aspects of the rave culture became commercialised they came to appeal to a wider audience and infiltrated into the culture of youth in much of Britain.

In Hertfordshire this link between fashion and drugs was a major focus for many of the young people. They talked about how the younger adolescents in particular would be influenced by drug images and language used by

fashion companies and as a result of this would use the substances. For them it was an indication that the 'drug problem' was both getting younger and becoming further integrated into mainstream youth groups. In the following extracts some of the young people talk about a particular brands of clothing, including Spliffy, Dready, Eclipse and Cookie Jar, which used images of drug use and obviously drug centred language as a selling point. I would suggest that maybe the intention by the clothing company was that by linking fashion with drugs would result in an increase in the popularity and credibility of the clothing make[4]. Nicola focuses on the changing ages of drug users arguing that as a result of the links with fashion, younger and younger individuals are becoming involved in the drug culture. For James this was a major focus too, and he saw the link as being far more direct than Nicola had and that through buying into the fashions would encourage individuals to buy into the drugs too.

> Liz - ARE DRUGS A FOCUS OF YOUTH CULTURE?
> Nicola [aged 15 years Village H1] - Yeah because the things people wear, like my little brother, who is 12 and since he was 10 he has been wearing the *Spliffy* jeans and *Spliffy* coat and tops and like when I was 12 I didn't know what a spliff was, I didn't know what they were because now like everyone is becoming aware of what a spliff is and that like and you get T-shirts with pills on like I have a T-shirt with 'only eclipse have the answer' written on it with pills all over it, so clothes show it.

> I reckon a lot of these young ones like in here and they all wear those *Spliffing* jeans and that and they will start taking drugs when they are older. They all say they won't but like we said we wouldn't smoke or drink or anything and we all did. [James aged 15 years Village H2].

For others, drug use had infiltrated more generally into the young people's lifestyles. It was simply a part of fashion, of music and of their culture in general. For many wearing clothes with drugs symbols on them and listening to music which had a drugs theme would be easier to do than actually taking the drugs. It allowed a participation in the scene without involving actually

[4] Although it could also be argued that the clothing companies were simply taking a cultural image that the young people could relate to and that it simply happened also to be a drugs image rather than the use of a drugs image being the major focus here.

taking the drugs. This was particularly important for those individuals who felt use of drugs caused conflict with their own personal standards. Below Ben from Village H1 felt that drugs were central to youth culture in general;

> I think it is slowly increasing yes because it always used to be what club they were going to and what drink they drunk and that and what clothes, and now I think more drugs are done. I think that is starting to come into the centre of it too and I think that is where most of the peer pressure is happening now because maybe people who are not so keen on doing it they have to because all their friends are doing it and it is the in thing to do. [Ben aged 16 years Village H1].

In Figures 7.1 and 7.2 examples of these clothing items are shown.

Figure 7.1 A photograph of a Dready T Shirt. It shows a joint of cannabis being smoked on the logo.

Figure 7.2 A photograph of an E-Legal pair of jeans. The reference to both cannabis smoking and to Ecstasy are obvious in the logo and the picture.

The adult population in and around Village H1 were also aware of increasing links between fashion drugs and music. The female youth worker in village H1 suggested that drugs and music have always been linked, what was changing was the type of music it was linked to and the extent to which it was now recognised by the general population. In the extract below she identifies some of the main links between drug use and music both historically and in the present day.

> What about the 60's? I was a child of the 60's and drugs and music were very closely related you had Woodstock and all of that, that was a huge drug and music culture, so don't listen to people who say it has only happened in the last 10 or 15 years. People in the 18th century were listening to concertos while on opium, its a load of rubbish it goes back to the beginning of time with Indians chewing leaves and playing instruments. It almost like a human need I don't know why and its been with us since the dawn of time, like prostitution.....But the drugs and music will always go together and young people will always take them and the more disaffected they are, the worse their problem will be. [Youth Worker H1].

In Yorkshire the young people talked specifically about particular fashion items or music styles that were associated with drugs. Richard and Alex from one of the focus groups discussed how particular music styles were intricately linked to drug use. Youth culture to them was aspatial because it was associated with particular forms of music which could be accessed wherever you lived. In the following extract they talk about the ravers and the moshies which they identify as two main groups in their village. Each group or gang had particular music and fashions styles, but was linked by their similar use of drugs

> Liz - DO YOU THINK THAT YOUTH CULTURE IS ASPATIAL?[5]
> Alex [14 years Village Y1 - Yeah because its based on music really.
> Liz - DO YOU THINK THAT DRUGS ARE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THAT SCENE?
> Its like people listen to heavy metal and moshey sort of music and smoke cannabis and take tablet and that.
> Richard [aged 16 Village Y1][6].*Its mainly the ravers and the moshies.*

[5] It was unusual that the young people understood what I meant by this term aspatial and further explanation was usually required.

In both areas, drugs had been normalised by the young people. The culture that they had, that they participated in, was surrounded by drug use and was neither reactionary or deviant in the way other drug subcultures had been seen as in the past. It was more lifestyle orientated a choice of the individuals involved which allowed participation in the mainstream culture as well as the smaller more specific lifestyles I identify here[7]. The young people tapped into the culture as and when they felt the need to and drugs were an integral part of that culture. In Village Y2 Philip and Gareth talked about the way in which drugs had replaced other means of peer group acceptance in their village.

> Philip [aged 17 years Village Y2] - I think it's some'at new and like when new clothes come in and that everyone gets them and it's the same with drugs. Everyone's getting drugs instead of getting ratted, they do drugs instead.
> *Gareth [aged 15 years Village Y2] - Yeah because if you are sitting talking to someone you don't think of it as illegal, you think of it as perfectly normal.*
> I thinks its perfectly normal, except for that one, heroin [pointing at my sheet], its perfectly normal, every weekend.
> *You don't think its really bad you just think that if anyone finds it you'll get into a bit of trouble but you don't really think about it.*

It was not only the young people in Yorkshire who spoke of drug use as being central to the culture of young people but also the adults in the area. I spoke with various members of the youth service, the police service and the drugs service and all of them agreed that music, drugs and youth culture were intricately linked. The local police officer from nearby Village Y1 suggested;

> Drugs and music are interlinked but they are interlinked for different reasons. One reason is that to sell drugs you need a market. If your market is going to be teenagers, then you have to go somewhere where the teenagers are, so therefore target areas have got to be youth clubs, dances or places they hang out. .....Certain music does have a background which is drug related, its questionable as to whether that

[6] But it must also be noted that ravers and moshies could also be found in other places and were not centred here only.
[7] It was only reactionary and deviant in that it involved an activity which was illegal. But in many ways it was not as overtly reactionary or deviant as say the Mods, Rockers and Hippie subcultures had been.

> music is a result of the drugs or just to keep their level of interest up with the kids, because they are now talking about something that is not acceptable to the general population and is therefore more exciting. There is a link but if you took one away it wouldn't stop the other, there was music before there was drugs and there will be drugs after there is music. [Yorkshire policeman].

When questioned about the reasons behind youthful experimentation with drugs he argued that it was because it was so common, because it was part of fashion as well as music and TV. It had become an acceptable part of youth culture.

> One is an acceptance that its all around, that's its becoming an accepted thing, its in the dress, its in the way that they talk, its just become something that is acceptable. But its also so different. There is still the rebellion side to teenagers, Eclipse Clothing is basically based on some designs of clothing which go on to enhance people using drugs. People who are abusing solvents, Lynx is supposed to be the best to get high, to abuse, but the parents think oh that its great that their kids want them to smell nice so they buy them Lynx. Television programmes although tending to back up the worse side of drugs does mean it is more readily talked about, Grange Hill, Neighbours, Hollyoaks, they've all come up over the years story lines about drugs. So it is something to talk about, if you start to talk about it then its easier to come into the line of oh if you want to try some then Jack down the road can get you some, if you want to have a go, and look I've done it and he's done it and we haven't died. [Local policeman].

Similar ideas were expressed by the young people in Hertfordshire which somehow made it seem more real than if it had been just the adults view. If they as young people were aware of how little they feared drugs, how they felt the risks involved were limited then the adults perspective seemed to reflect reality. The fear surrounding drugs, their illegal nature, their potential for harm, the risks involved in their use, were all being eroded by the popular nature of drug use among the peer groups. It was a normal thing to do. For others in Hertfordshire drugs had particular boundaries associated with them. Some drugs were part of the normal leisure / pleasure landscape for young people and others were not, these held fear about health risks because they were 'harder' drugs. Nicola focused on issues surrounding the peer group in her interview suggesting that it was her friends use that stimulated her own

curiosity and that because it was common among her friends there was no, or very little fear surrounding drugs. For David it was the distinction between different types of drugs and their associated acceptability, or not, that he focused on when questioned about these issues. For him only certain drugs were normalised among the peer group. Others still had a degree of stigma attached to them.

> Well to start with its because when I first started coming out I came out with a friend and she done a lot of it and I thought oh I'll do it just to see what it is like and that and I didn't get worried or anything. I didn't think oh I'm going to get caught or die or anything at the time. Now I'm not worried about it at all, I'll get worried when I have done an Ecstasy tablet but I won't do anything else really and a lot of times I go and stay with my cousin and umm I always do something when I am with her when I go and see her....mainly because it is something to do. [Nicola aged 15 years Village H1].

> Liz - DO YOU THINK DRUGS HAVE BECOME A FOCAL POINT OF THE CULTURE?
> David [aged 15 years Village H1] - In some places they have yeah, but in other places I don't know down *Deepdale* for half the adolescents it has its become part of their culture they have got used to it now. But I only from what I know among people I know[8].
> HAVE KIDS NORMALISED IT?
> I think they think that with the cannabis maybe the LSD, but with the ecstasy I don't think it is the same, some people treat ecstasy like heroin and cocaine and some people don't. Some people have done it and think yeah I'll do another one, I don't think it bothers some people.

Because drugs were readily available and because they were used so frequently by so many of the young people they were no longer feared as dangerous or as illegal. They had been normalised by the majority of the young people and now came to be an integral part of the youth culture of the these areas, and indeed of areas beyond the confines of the villages. Young people in each of the villages of study were able to access parts of that culture including fashion, music and drugs and the culture seemed to avoid issues of spatial separation, it appeared to be universal or at least national.

[8] Deepdale is a pseudonym that I have given to the Village H1.

The young people focused on this issue of the universality of drug use in many of the interviews I had with them.

Earlier Diane from Village Y1 was noted as stating that although there was not a spoken peer pressure that some form of pressure did exist in the village to try illegal substances. This was not the only issue for her. She also talked about the way in which drugs were becoming more common and this she felt was an indication of the centrality of drugs to the behaviour of young people.

> I think drugs, and if you bring alcohol into that category I think it does [youth culture] revolve around it. I would rather go out and get pissed but I think more people would rather go out and get stoned. I think for others it really does revolve around drugs. [Diane aged 15 years Village Y1]

For many the nation-wide spread of drugs as part of youth entertainment and its associated culture, ensured that differences between the lifestyles of urban young people and rural young people were in fact very limited. It was almost as if space did not matter in that they as individuals and as groups could, and did access what they wanted from the urban culture. They may have had to plan to access certain substances, but this access was not limited in any significant way. Mark from Village H3 suggested that the village played no role in the uptake of the drugs culture, it was there for all and all therefore participated, whether in actual drugs consumption or in the fashion and music parts of the culture In the following extract from my interview with him he suggests that although they live in a village they are not in any way isolated because they travel to larger towns for school and they therefore had access to most parts of the culture, including drugs, if they wanted it.

> Mark - I don't think its got anything to do with the village I think its just youth culture today. Drugs are available on the street and the police aren't going to stop them.....so drugs are readily available. I don't think it has anything to do with the village I just think its youth culture
> Liz - IS YOUTH CULTURE ASPATIAL THEN?
> I think kids are kids wherever they are and I personally travel to school on a school bus every day and everyone does who is 11 and so I would

> say youth culture covers everyone because everyone gets access to it at school.
> ARE DRUGS A FOCUS OF THAT CULTURE?
> I would say that in the past five years they have become so.
> SO YOU DON'T FEEL ISOLATED FROM IT BECAUSE OF WHERE YOU LIVE?
> Well its not like we live in wilderness and we don't have TV or radio. We know what happens we have newspapers and we see people about and talk to them and that. [Mark aged 15 years Village H3].

These sentiments were echoed by others in Hertfordshire. Nick from Village H1 felt it was something countrywide amongst their age group, that the young people felt comfortable with.

> Yes in probably all our age groups all over the country probably....but you would probably still find loads of people doing it if you went to Enfield or Stevenage, Wolverhampton, Manchester, throughout the age groups, its basically what people do what they find, not exciting just something to do and they just feel totally at ease when they are taking drugs. [Nick aged 16 years Village H1].

Sarah continued to argue that the drugs culture was indeed a placeless culture. It was universal.

> It doesn't differ, it is not based on one place specifically its suits everyone. [Sarah aged 15 years Village H1].

Similar ideas were expressed in Yorkshire by the young people there. The only distinction that members of the focus group could identify between rural and urban expressions of youth culture were that it took longer for some aspects of the culture to reach the rural areas. For them, Diane, Erica and the other members of the group, drugs and music went hand in hand and they followed the culture of the urban areas. The following extract is from the focus group discussion on drugs and here Pete summarises these main points.

> Yeah probably is but we have youth culture here we just follow the towns and cities it just takes a bit longer to get here. I think they are part of youth culture, and then music is the main focus of youth culture.[Pete aged 17 years Village Y1].

The young people seemed to believe that areas were no longer isolated from each other in any significant way. This was also the opinions of many of the adults. The local policeman suggests that;

> When we are talking about young people using drugs young people are no longer stuck in their villages and they go to their village schools, now they go and mix with much larger groups.....round there all these areas we have got a great interplay between areas now. TV popular TV has a lot that is involved with it. .....so yes the world is no longer isolated in any shape or form, the road systems up here, even the people who live in the villages and who travel elsewhere to work, its far greater and because of that you have got people coming in who will bring with them the friends that they have in the cities, they can no longer be classed as isolated.

It would seem from the above narratives that drug use has become a national feature of youth lifestyles, which is itself less focused on spatial elements than previously recognised. Space would seem to have little influence in the ability for a culture to be taken up by the residents of particular areas. This upholds what I identified in Chapter Three as the increasing dominance of drug use in mainstream youth cultures and as a lifestyle choice of many individuals. Drug use here does not reflect many of the subcultural characteristics that it has been previously assigned and is more fluid and intermittent as a form of behaviour than in more structured and defined subcultures. Drug use here is not reactionary, nor class or gender based, and appears to involve the majority rather than the minority of young people. The ideas stated by the young people in these discourses confirming the universality of drug use, would appear to erode any notion that rural areas exhibit differences in their experience of drug use by young people. It would appear that what is likely to occur in the towns and cities is equally likely to occur in the rural districts too.

In the above discourses what has been identified is the ways in which drugs appear to be unaffected by spatial barriers or divisions when it comes to their uptake by young people in the rural areas of Yorkshire and Hertfordshire. Drugs, as central to the culture, lifestyle and behaviour of young people in

these areas would appear to be a nation-wide aspect of contemporary youth culture, the only aspect which seems to distinguish areas from one another, especially in terms of the rural and the urban, is the time and speed at which drugs arrive and are taken on board by the young people. These sentiments were echoed by many of the young people in the villages. Michael from Village Y1 suggests;

> Yeah.....we have youth culture here we just follow the towns and cities it just takes a bit longer to get here. [Michael aged 15 years Village Y1].

Here drugs become not so much a subcultural characteristic, but a feature of mass youth culture. This is not to say that everybody engages with all aspects of the culture, drugs or otherwise, but that it is available for them if they choose to participate in it. This culture would seem to be fed by cultural circuits such as magazines, TV and radio and these are not bound spatially, and therefore they, and the culture, are available to all. If this is so then the rural would appear to hold no, or very little, significance in terms of the differentiation between areas. The lives of rural youth would appear to be the same or increasingly similar to those of urban youth.

Space however, is still significant. Even in the late 20th century when telecommunications have ensured that areas are no longer isolated in the way they used to be, there are still issues of access. These relate to how many parts of contemporary culture, such as shops, cinemas, clubs, are available to individuals in the more remote areas. There are also issues of cultural acceptability, which refer to how the culture among the population in that area are willing or able to accept it. In my fieldwork I was also to find individuals who felt isolation and separation from the urban and whether these differences were related to choice, or were enforced was debatable. In the following section these issues will be addressed and the difference that rural living makes to the lives of the young people involved will be focused on.

7.3 Spatial barriers to a nationalised culture.

The section above suggested how many of the young people felt they were fully integrated into the culture of youth which existed in urban areas. Here youth culture related to particular fashions, music styles and indeed drugs. It appeared to be a national culture which had drugs as central to it and the young people, whether urban or rural seemed to be able to participate in all aspects of it. The young people flatly denied feeling cut off or separate from the urban scene when I first spoke with them, but often at a second or third questioning on the issue it was identified by them as being important. Space did seem to play an important role in the uptake of the culture by young people in rural areas when they were questioned in depth on the issue, but had failed to seem important to them on an initial questioning. Diane and Erica, from Village Y1, struck up a conversation with me when I probed them further on these issues and suggested that they in fact did feel some form of isolation or separation from the centres of culture in the urban areas. In the extract below Erica talks about the issues faced when moving to and from the urban areas to participate in communal, or club based activities where she would consume illicit substances.

> Erica [aged 15 years] - Yeah its like on Saturday we all had to pay five pounds for a coach and it took us ages to get there and we didn't get back until 6 am in the morning because they were stopping off at service stations and that. You are miles away from it all and it is such a trek....yeah you are isolated.
> Diane [aged 15 years] - I think we miss out on some stuff but I don't think we miss out on all stuff because we have our own way to go and they have their way to go.

Here, isolation was obviously a big issue. The young people did not have full access to certain kinds of venues with ease. If the nationalised culture of young people involved not simply the drugs, fashion and music, but also participation in club based activities at such venues then rural youth were disadvantaged and spatial factors become important once again. If certain parts of this 'menu' of youth culture involves doing drugs in particular places then obviously there is a greater ability for the young people in urban areas to have access to them. Rural youth are less likely to be able to participate in

these place specific aspects of the culture[9]. There seemed to be two parts of the culture, one that was locally based, where the young people could take drugs in their local area, and also a part which required them to visit local night-clubs which was a more 'nationalised' feature. There was almost a micro-geography of the culture in the villages, which was related to that which occurred in the urban but was also separate and distinct from it.

For others it was a question of effort that was required for them to be involved in the culture whilst living in the rural areas, and it was a far more extensive effort than what was required in the urban areas. To participate fully required that they planned their time, made the required effort and were content on being slightly behind, with regard to time, to the urban scene. Denise argued that the culture was available to her if she made adequate effort to get involved in it.

> If you want to go somewhere and get involved with something then you can go if you are prepared to make the effort you can still get involved in it. I mean my friends go to Leeds and I can go if I make the effort to go to. [Denise aged 15 years Village Y2].

In this respect being in a rural area did make a difference however marginal or insignificant that difference was felt to be by the young people. Caroline from Village Y1 below suggests that for her access to the fashion part of youth culture was limited in her locality and that she was therefore cut off from the most contemporary or modern styles.

> Yes because you don't really go into Bradford or Leeds every week for clothes you just go to Romdale or Windale which is not much....well if you see on the TV what is in fashion those places haven't got it. [Caroline aged 14 years Village Y1][10].

What was required through the changing fashion industry was regular updates to an individuals wardrobe. This was obviously limited to many of

[9] It must also be noted that although many clubs have nights for young people, many are not old enough to participate. Clubs are also expensive, and even more so for young people in rural areas who have to travel to them.

[10] Again Romdale and Windale are both pseudonyms for towns that the young people referred to.

the rural young people as they did not often have access to the shops where such fashions would be sold.

In Hertfordshire similar ideas were expressed. The young people there again initially structured arguments around the idea that they were not cut off in any way from aspects of mainstream youth culture. But when probed further on these issues and when I asked about particular aspects of the culture e.g. fashion, music, club based activities the young people seemed more willing to talk about feelings of isolation and separation.. Prior to the research I had felt that the areas would demonstrate much more pronounced differences, that the young people in rural Hertfordshire would be less isolated than those in Yorkshire because of the proximity of villages H1, H2 and H3 to large towns and cities. These differences were not as pronounced as I had felt they would be. I had thought that as the villages in Yorkshire were further from the urban areas that these feelings of isolation would be more acute. Maybe in reality if one is isolated from an urban centre by a few miles, it still means that you are isolated whether that distance is one mile or ten. Perhaps the ability to get to outlets is resource rather than distance related.

Ben from Village H1 talked earlier about the centrality of drugs to youth cultural pursuits and suggested that it was an accepted and integral part of their lives in the village. Later in the interview we talked about feelings of separation from the urban areas and whether this in fact made their culture differ in any way from the urban scene. Ben referred to music styles in detail when he talked about this, and suggested that in the village they had a style which was different, or behind the urban styles and confirmed that feelings of difference or isolation did exist in the villages in Hertfordshire.

> Ben [aged 16 years Village H1] - Yeah I think it is because down here most people are into Jungle music but you go somewhere else and they will say Jungle's been, and they are into like Indie or something, because we are like small it doesn't reach us and most of the rating of TV programmes and music come from the city, because there is a lot

> more people in the cities and they can use a lot more people and get a bigger response.
> Liz - DO YOU THINK IT GRADUALLY FILTERS DOWN?
> Yeah it does I mean up cos I mean they done a survey not long ago and worked out Indie is the most popular music but if you go into a village around here, Indie you won't hardly get anyone who likes it, it will be mainly jungle basically will storm the table.

Feelings of cultural isolation were cited by others in the villages in Hertfordshire too. But for Ben these feelings were accentuated by the fact that he had originally lived in a town and had in the past few years moved out to the country. For him rural life involved a lack of opportunity and restrictions to what they could do in their leisure time.

> Yes I think that when people who have been living out here for most of their lives come down to places like Enfield, where I have noticed a big difference between, they think I wish I was going out there tonight or my friends speaking about what club they just went to or what clothes they have just got and stuff. All those opportunities that we don't have up here you feel upset that you are not being given that opportunity as well so I think that people can feel isolated up here. I know I am because there always seems to be so much more happening in either a bigger town or a city. [Ben aged 16 years Village H1].

Others in the villages confirmed these feelings. Paul argued that this isolation was a reason to experiment with drugs, even though they may have to be taken up in a different way to the ways urban young people consumed drugs He stated;

> [Drugs get used] 'cos you get bored and you are living in a place that is shut off. [Paul aged 16 years Village H3].

This was echoed by Neil who suggested that isolation was a key issue for the residents of Village H2.

> You are just closed in here you can't get anywhere. [Neil aged 17 years Village H2].

Here one can assume that living in a rural environment did make a difference to the way in which culture was experienced and taken on board by the young people. Isolation from the urban centres where much of the culture originated, ensured what was available was structured under the conditions

laid down by time and distance from the urban areas. Here the culture was truly post-modern, the young people tapping into aspects of it as and when they required it and when they could get hold of it.

In 7.2 I discussed the non-spatial factor of boredom as part of the decision making process which made young people experiment with drugs. Above this what was identified was also a spatialised element, that of isolation, but this isolation had more far reaching implications than simply the geographical isolation it created. It was involved in the creation of feelings of boredom too, but a non-generic boredom linked in with a lack of opportunity and isolation in the rural areas. It suggests that young people come to experiment with drugs because they have little access to other forms of entertainment and this ties in strongly with the young people's discourses which referred to the isolation from cultural outlets such as night-clubs. Here the rural community provided its own source of entertainment, and distinguished itself from the urban. Paul from Village H3 confirms this and states that drugs are used because;

> You get bored and you are living in a place that is shut off but there are advantages you can catch a bus for a day out to somewhere like Harlow, for clubs and places like bowling. So there a few [places to go], but there are more disadvantages. [Paul aged 15 years Village H3].

Living in a rural environment was therefore something which made the lives of the young people there differ from those in urban areas. It differed in terms of access to certain forms of entertainment, in terms of isolation from other young people and in terms of the time and effort required for aspects of the culture to be taken on board in the villages. But these were not the only differences that living in a rural area made to the lives of the young people, there were also differences which emerged as a result of the characteristics of the local community. In Chapters One and Six I identified the enclosed or uniformed nature of the rural community as it is perceived to be by both outsiders and some residents of the areas. Here, these characteristics can be seen as dividing lines between the urban and the rural supplanting the other

ways in which living in a rural area appeared to make a difference to the lives of the young people there.

In many of the interviews and focus groups the young people talked in detail about the ways in which the community acted as a form of surveillance, something which ensured that privacy was indeed limited. This echoed many of the ideas in Chapter Six which talked in detail about the public and private spaces in the village. For many of the young people privacy was not space related but referred to the characteristics of the individuals living in each area. The difference that living in a village made was that each young person was known to many, if not all of the village population. There were therefore polarised effects of being in a rural community, firstly the young people were isolated from many of the cultural outlets that the young people wanted to be involved with, and secondly their behaviour and actions were under the continued scrutiny of the village population. Many of the young people focused on these ideas during the conversations I had with them. Nicola from Village H1 had lived in the Village for only seven years and she was aware that there was a lot of surveillance by the population there. She states;

> Everyone knows everyone. Like if you want to have a cigarette or something then you have to hide because like my parents don't know. [Nicola aged 15 years Village H1].

The young people in Yorkshire seemed to focus on these issues of surveillance and lack of privacy much more than the young people in Hertfordshire did. I felt that this was because many of the villages were slightly smaller in size and more physically remote from the urban areas. Maybe this made them more inward looking and therefore the people focused on what was happening in the village rather than beyond. Pete from Village Y1 suggested that;

> One disadvantage which seems a bit silly on the bad side of things, everybody knows everybody so if you get into trouble with anything at all then everybody knows, not even just young kids their parents and

> everything, its a really bad point, you don't have anything private. [Pete aged 17 years Village Y1].

This was echoed by Erica from the same village who felt that because they were a small community that gossip and nosiness were rife and were integral part of community life.

> It's all tight knit and that its just everybody knows everybody and everybody knows what everybody is doing. They live in people's pockets and they thrive on gossip and stuff like that. [Erica aged 16 years Village Y1].

In one of the focus groups in Village Y1 the young people talked in depth about this issue. They were quite angry that there was so little privacy in the village, that they were subjected to such much surveillance. In the extract below these issues are dealt with by the young people and their feelings are made quite obvious.

> Erin [Aged 16 years] - Everybody is watching you here.
> Diane [aged 16 years] - *But you know everyone.*
> Simon [aged 16 years] - **You can't go out in clothes that you want other people will laugh at them., everybody knows that you will laugh at them, but in a city you can just ignore them, probably never see them again anyway.**
> That's it as well everything is really old fashioned as well, if you go to Leeds there are people walking down the street stoned with hardly any clothes on anyway, people can wear what ever they want. You know they could walk out in their hot pants and their bra things as well, and then there's some people who....well there's us lot who wear certain dress things not to be laughed at.
> *Narrow minded.*
> Liz - YOU FEEL ITS NARROW MINDED?
> Like if you stood on a street corner you are classed as the bad ones and you are doing drugs, and drinking and encouraging other people to do it, people say oh I dare not walk past them and stuff, well we are not doing anything wrong.
> Michael [aged 16 years] Its cos there's nowt for us to do apart from stand around on street corners, that's all we do.
> Erin: Everything is blown out of proportion, really out of proportion.
> *The slightest thing is major news.*

What was also happening in the village was a polarisation of attitude, the young people who were experimenting with drugs tended to mix with others who did too. The result was that these groups of young people became

magnified in how they appeared to outsiders, and they experienced a goldfish bowl effect in the village[11]. Those that were involved stuck together, and it may have seemed to those who were not involved that everybody else was doing it but them. I would suggest that many of these non users shied away from those who used and made themselves almost invisible to an outsider such as myself for fear of being shunned by what appeared to be the using majority. Some of the young people did talk about their non-use but they tended to only speak out if they were in groups with other individuals who were not using. When groups of users and non-users were present it was often the users who dominated the conversation.

In Britain it seemed that there were features of the culture surrounding young people that were both non-spatial and some that were spatially determined. The difference that living in a rural area made was therefore acute in terms of access to cultural outlets, in terms of the way the community acted towards itself and the time it took for aspects of the culture to reach the young people in the villages. The non-spatial elements referred to the ways in which the young people were able to have access to the music, the fashion and indeed the drugs that the urban young people had access to. In the following section these ideas will be related to the work carried out in New Zealand and differences and similarities will be drawn out. What will be suggested is that living in a rural area makes life considerably different for the young people living there, that rurality makes a more significant difference than it did in Britain.

7.4 Rurality and the culture of youth in New Zealand.

In New Zealand there were distinct differences in the reasons behind use of drugs. Boredom and peer pressure were cited by many of the young people as motives for participation in the drugs scene as they were in Britain. Again it was boredom which was both spatially (linked to access to recreational outlets) and non-spatially (linked to young people's capacity to amuse

[11] I referred to the idea of rural communities being like goldfish bowls in Chapter One and how the young people were subjected to surveillance by the adults there.

themselves) determined boredom. But here there were different reasons too. There was a greater emphasis on escapism, on drugs as a means of relieving the pressures of everyday life and this was seen as particularly important for the Maori population[12]. Tanya was a Maori girl for whom escapism was a real reason for drug use. She had seen her father, her brother and her partner all use for this reason. Drugs took the serious side out of life.

> From what I've heard and from what I know, to have a joint really helps to relieve you. Nothing is serious, everything is a really big joke to you when you are high. Nothing is....you don't take anything seriously. But it doesn't take away the problem it just delays the time when the problem will come back again. [Tanya aged 18 years Village NZ1].

Sarah echoed these sentiments and suggested that drugs allowed people to forget their problems. These problems were often related to the family life, financial pressures, employment pressures, or were often related to the relationship between the Maori and the Pakeha populations. Sarah also distinguished between what she termed users and abusers, those for whom drug use was a recreational activity, something for fun, and those for whom it was a focus for life[13].

> Because they think its cool, they think its OK. People just want to escape from reality. Get high and see what its like. Some are just tryers and others are users and abusers. [Sarah aged 16 years Village NZ1].

Another reason given was the availability of marijuana. For many it was used because it was there, grown locally and therefore cheap or even free, and it provided an alternative to alcohol. For others it was used because it was ingrained in their society, their culture. It was used because it had become a part of everyday life for so many of the young people as well as the adults. As it was not only the young people that used but the adults too, it

[12] I am loathed to further the stereotype of the Maori population as suffering from distinct forms of social and economic deprivation and the use of drugs therefore being a result of this, but many of the young people spoke of it in this way and I have simply to relay their sentiments.

[13] This idea was suggested in Chapter Three where I argued that drug use was no longer associated only with the poor and deprived as a form of escapism but now revolved for many around distinct forms of leisure and recreation.

was easier for it to become an acceptable part of life for the young. This idea was suggested by Mariella who argued that because so many of the young saw their parents use, or adults in the community use, that it became an almost accepted progression that they would use too.

> Most because they have been brought up on it. Some come from broken homes and its the only way to get them joyful and happy. Its the majority because they have grown up on it. Their parents do, they are probably dealers, do their own crop. And because they see their mother and father smoking it in front of them they think oh I can do that because.... [Mariella aged 16 years Village NZ1].

The agricultural society in New Zealand made the whole drugs culture different from that in Britain. Here it was readily available for all those who wanted access to it.

But it was peer pressure and the influence of friends that seemed to dominate many of the arguments of the young people in Village NZ1. Here peer pressure was far more obvious, and open than it had been in Britain and the young people were open about referring to its presence. Tom, Valerie and Jo were part of one of the group discussions carried out in Village NZ1 and talked about the existence of peer pressure to take drugs. In the second extract below Emily and Paula suggest that drugs facilitate feelings of belonging in the peer group, that they have become integral to youth lifestyles and therefore to 'fit in' one must also consume these substances. Here drugs are not so much subcultural, but an everyday part of youth lifestyles.

> I reckon its the peer pressure the excitement of going against what everyone says.
> I don't think its peer pressure it was just my brother and his mates that were doing it and I thought I've got to try it and see what its like because it sounds so much fun.
> You can sort things out when you do it. Sometimes it can really help you realise what you want...[Tom, Valerie, Jo aged 15-18 years Village NZ1].

> Part of the in-thing. They want to be part of the I crowd. Just to get in with the crowd.

> Some people just do it because they have been doing it for so long that it is now part of their lifestyles.[Emily and Paula age 16 years Village NZ1]

Here the boredom and the peer pressure may be space dependent or may not be. This would be determined by the nature and degree of isolation of the rural community. I would suggest that in the case of Village NZ1 that its physical isolation from the major towns and cities would have made the village differ from many urban and indeed rural areas.

In 7.2 I discussed how in New Zealand there were some similarities and some differences with respect to the way in which drugs were related to others aspects of youth lifestyles such as music and fashion. There was not a developed 'youth culture' that revolved around drugs as it did in Yorkshire and Hertfordshire. Neither had the drugs infiltrated into the fashion industry as it had in Britain. Fashion for young people in Village NZ1 was separate to their social and recreational pastimes and as a group of young people they seemed less concerned about what was 'in' and whether or not they wore fashionable clothes. The drug culture had infiltrated into the music scene though, or vice versa, but either way they were linked as they were in Britain. Here it was not the Rave or Acid House music styles which were linked with drug use but the more established links between drugs, reggae and heavy metal. It seemed that the Rave scene was an urban issue, and was felt to be urban in location and therefore did not concern the rural youth.

The young people in Village NZ1 strongly related reggae and heavy metal to drug use and suggested that one helped the other to be more fully appreciated by the participants. It was also suggested that because musicians were obviously involved with drug use that this made it more permissible for them to do it too. Hannah and Jody both felt that the only music style that was linked with drug use was the reggae of Bob Marley and the music of Jimi Hendrix. Here the music that was related to drugs was an old style, rather than in Britain where it had been a newer one. For Hannah the music

helped the effect of the drugs, creating a feeling of relaxation. For Jody it was concerned with image, if Bob Marley consumed drugs then it was acceptable for her to do so too. It would create a situation where she would be more popular.

> If you want to mellow out then its good with Bob Marley and Jimi Hendrix. [Hannah aged 18 years Village NZ1].

> Yeah I think there is a link with Heavy Metal, Pantera, the words can be effecting them, they are rock stars they know what they are doing. Bob Marley he smokes it and he is cool. I'll do it and get into him and smoke so I will have friends. [Jody aged 17 years Village NZ1].

Here what becomes interesting is the way in which drug use is seen by Jody as a means of gaining friends, of becoming more popular. What also stands out is the fact that the way in which young people feel they can become popular through smoking drugs is linked in with the music and style of Bob Marley who is indeed dead.

Some of the young people related drug use and music together because of the way in which the music referred to drug use in the lyrics. Here the link was direct and created a situation in which certain styles of music would be more strongly linked in with drug use than others. Because the lyrics referred to drug use, it made it more acceptable for the young people to use them.

> Claire [aged 17] - Bob Marley, I mean if you see people really get into a musician and you see him smoking a joint you think you should do that.
> Sophie *[aged 17] - If you are into Bob Marley and then you get into the Skinheads and they all look up to drugs and they all smoke. Song lyrics are often linked to drugs too like Alanis Morrisette talks about taking pills and stuff. All these song lyrics talk about drugs like "I was walking down the street and took a toke from my joint and a drink of my whisky:" so yes they are linked but not in a big way. We are not that small minded that we will follow everything that they do. It just makes you feel that extra bit cooler about doing it.*
> **Rachel [aged 17 years Village NZ1] - If they do drugs then its seems OK. Its not so much that they are doing it- but when you are doing it its that bit more cooler that they have done it.**

These ideas were referred to by Tanya too who suggested that drugs gave a bigger buzz to music and vice versa. She felt that each individual would have one type of music with which they were involved, that they felt was linked to their drug use. But here the style she refers to is reggae.

> *If you smoke, depending on what type of music you listen to it might* be linked. If you smoked there will be one type of music that you will like listening to. It will get you higher than you already are, I don't know whether or not music influences how you smoke the drugs but there will be a bigger high than what you are already when you listen to reggae and stuff. There are certain types of people who will like to listen to certain types of music *when they are stoned because it* give them a bigger buzz. [Tanya aged 18 years Village NZ1].

It seemed that in Village NZ1 music and drugs provided simply a relief from boredom, it was a passive form of entertainment which took them away from the constraints of village life. In Britain this had been quite different; the music and drug scene was far more active and exciting and involved dance and often club locations. Maybe this too related to the degree of separation which existed between the rural and urban locations in New Zealand.

In New Zealand differences between the rural and urban cultures were seen as far more acute than they had been in Britain. I felt that although they were aware of differences they were not simply that the rural was behind the urban with respect to the culture that it demonstrated. In many respects, certainly in terms of drug use the rural was in fact ahead of the urban because much of what was consumed locally was in fact grown in the rural areas[14]. The young people in Village NZ1 focused on the time delay between the emergence of cultures in the urban areas and the rural areas taking them on board. Adam suggests below that it was almost as if time zones existed whereby the rural areas experienced facets of the culture a period of time after the urban did.

> I'd say its like a countrywide thing but its like having time zones. It takes time for things to get here like fashions. Music is quite universal

[14] In fact it is almost as if the urban areas are now having to catch up with the rural and rely on the technology of hydroponics to ensure that demand is adequately supplied.

> though. They do have different cultures. There is no rave scene here, music is different, not so much new techno, a lot more rap or rock and roll based. Fashion is definitely lagging behind. Drugs people do are lagging, they are harder in the city. [Adam aged 19 Village NZ1].

For Adam it was not simply that fashion and music differed between the two locations, but that drug types and use did too. In his eyes the city experienced harder drug use and the countryside was therefore relatively innocent in comparison. Others in Village NZ1 referred to the time differences in how each area experienced aspects of the culture. Sarah felt that the city was more modern and that they were therefore behind in most of what they had, did and experienced.

> Yeah that's how it goes, they have modern stuff and then a couple of months later someone brings it down here and then we get it. [Sarah aged 16 years Village NZ1].

For Hannah, Nick and Tony the country did not only differ from the city culture in the living out of cultural experiences but also with regard to the establishment of new ideas. The city was the cultural centre where new ideas, styles and patterns of behaviour were initiated.

> Hannah [aged 18 years] - We normally get the hand me downs. The city normally comes up with it and we will get it a few months later here.
> Nick [aged 18 years] - We may not be in the leading front but we are not far behind. Its just because we are not in the centre. We don't miss out on anything.
> Tony [aged 18 years Village NZ1] - We don't come up with anything either.

What was happening in New Zealand was not so much a package of drugs and style and music that had patterns of availability and acceptability associated with it, but was actually a different and unique way of living. A culture with drugs at the centre of it that was totally different to the urban scene. There were different levels of acceptability and fashion in Village NZ1 compared to the towns and cities. They had their own codes of conduct. There was availability of only certain drugs and the acceptability of use was often tied in with racial and other social groupings.

Going to the city to be involved with club based activities involved greater preparation and effort. In New Zealand it involved the young people to dress differently, to have experiences with different styles of music and to be prepared to take different drugs. In Britain this had not been the case, the styles and music and indeed drugs in the towns and cities had been far more similar in the urban and rural areas in Britain. Some of this difference may well have been associated with the New Zealand culture of growing drugs locally.

Drug use by young people did not therefore seem to be as nationally based in New Zealand as it had been in Britain. The fact that much of what was consumed by the young people was locally grown, ensured that they could retain their own separate culture. Village NZ1 was also more physically separate from the nearest urban areas than the villages in Britain had been, and the transfer of cultural characteristics from one area to another would therefore require a longer time. Because in New Zealand drug use was not as centred on club based, or communal activities as it was in Britain, it was possible for the club culture in the cities and the drug using patterns in rural areas to lie alongside one another without encroaching upon each other. In the rural areas, as I noted earlier, the music that was linked with drug use was different to the urban. Here it was the reggae and black culture which dominated. The effect of racial differences between the two areas becomes increasingly obvious. Racial differences were focused on by many of the young people as a form of distinction between the urban and rural. It meant that the types of drugs used were different, that the music and fashion involved was different and consequently the whole rural culture differed.

Many of the young people spoke of alcohol consumption as a key feature which differed one location from another[15]. Rural drinking was something that was ingrained in both the adult and youth population in Village NZ1. It was a feature of rural life that was felt by the young people to differentiate

[15] This I suggested in Chapter Five where I addressed the use of alcohol in terms of race and gender in Village NZ1.

them from the urban scene. In Chapter Five many of these ideas were addressed in greater detail, here I simply wish to draw attention to alcohol consumption as a feature of rural society which breaks up any notion of a national pattern of drug use by young people. Nick summarises these arguments and states that in the rural regions alcohol consumption is a major feature of society;

> It doesn't matter what age you people are, people just go straight from work to the pub.....you don't have people getting together without alcohol. [Adam aged 18 years Village NZ1].

What also seemed to be a common theme was that young people chose to use alcohol rather than drugs at certain times. They did 'pick and choose' what they wanted to be involved with (Parker and Measham 1994). For some of the young people drugs were preferable and for others it was alcohol. In the quote below Hannah and Nick talk about their own preferences for drugs above alcohol and the reasons why they enjoy taking cannabis.

> Hannah [aged 18 years] - Because its cheap and its there and it gives a good fix. You don't need hardly as much to get stoned whereas with alcohol you need half a box to get drunk as well, and the effects are instant and you are not bloated or spewing or anything or overboard and it doesn't give you ill effects in the morning.
> *Nick [aged 18 years Village NZ1] - It enhances your enjoyment of everything. If you are not having a good time it makes it better, if there's still nothing happening. You have more fun, you find things more interesting.*

For others alcohol was the 'drug' of choice. What emerged from the New Zealand work was that there were more distinctive social groupings which separated out the different substances used. The class or income related differences were more visible in New Zealand. There were groupings concerned with social activities such as sport, and there were groupings which were race related. Each section of the population had a drug of choice, a reason for experimentation and a lifestyle which went along with

this. I would suggest that the three main groupings were in fact social class or income, race and those heavily involved in sport.

The sporty young people seemed to have alcohol as their drug of choice and it was associated with after match or practice celebrations. Hannah suggests;

> Its a very sporty town, everyone is into one sport and they are quite competitive at it.....On the weekend you have fun [doing sport] during the day and drink in the evening...at the rugby club, at the pub. [Hannah aged 18 village NZ1].

In terms of race there were mixed feelings about the association of the Maori with cannabis. In Chapter Five I gave examples of young people who felt that it was particularly a Maori issue and those who did not think it was. What was obvious was the different expectations and acceptability that existed concerning drugs in the two environments. In Chapter Five I also discussed the class or income related differences relating to the drug use in the villages and suggested that drugs were used by both rich and poor. In Village NZ1 there were some lower income young people who were very poor who would experiment with solvents and other substances which were cheap and available. In Chapter Five Sophie and Jim talked about the poorer kids in Village NZ1 sniffing glues and solvents, Jim continues to state that;

> Solvent abuse occurs because they can't access drugs without money. [Jim aged 20 years Village NZ1]

What existed in New Zealand was not so much a nationalised culture but smaller individual local cultures. The young people simply created their own culture out of local characteristics and out of the culture that was infiltrating down from the urban areas. In the final extracts below these ideas are summarised by two of the young people who focused on difference substantially in their interviews. In both extracts the focus is on different cultures being in existence, and in the first there is an emphasis on rural life being more laid back than the urban. Bruce, Tom and Valerie argue;

> In the city when you go out you are always dressed up with heaps of makeup and that. Its a whole different way of living there.
> Here your attitude is more relaxed, your manner its all different, you watch yourself in the city more.
> There's more expectations of what you should be like in the city. [Bruce, Tom, Valerie, Jo and Paula. Village NZ1].

And Lucy concludes that indeed rural and urban are different and separate.

> We have got a different culture here, we are more laid back and more down to earth. They are different, they are separate and different culturally. [Lucy aged 17 years Village NZ1].

Differences between the urban and rural were therefore more distinct in New Zealand. Rurality accounted for a bigger cultural divergence than in Britain. This I would conclude was the result of both the racial groupings present in New Zealand, and the geographical separateness of the village[16] from the towns and cities. Rurality was important in Britain in a fringe / access way but was important in New Zealand as a placed culture, moulded into a separate and distinct area. In the final section these differences will be focused on in more detail.

7.5 Discussion.

This chapter has sought to identify the cultural nature of drug use in the three areas of study. Throughout the chapter what has been shown is the extent to which each rural area has a culture surrounding drug use which differs considerably from that in the towns and cities. In Britain it seemed that there was a nation-wide culture which surrounded drug use, that the young people in the villages Y1, Y2, H1, H2 and H3 were able to be a part of some wider whole, despite their geographical separateness. There were cultural attributes which they tapped into periodically which were more concerned with the urban scene such as clubs, and they followed the styles, music, fashion, drugs and attitudes of the urban areas whether this occurred immediately or after a small delay. For many of the young people there

[16] I use the term village here despite the fact that earlier I recognised that culturally the New Zealand population do not have villages as we do in Britain.

were no barriers to their participation in drugs, fashion, music and other aspects the urban youth scene[17].

In this respect it initially seemed that it was a national culture and that living in a rural area did not make any real difference. But after further questioning I established that access to cultural outlets was limited, that it took considerable time for new fashions and ideas to reach the rural areas and that the nature of the community made privacy quite limited. This made the rural different to the urban, it made rurality make a difference to the lifestyles of the young people living there. The young people felt boredom that was related to geographical isolation, as well as boredom as symptomatic of their age.

In addition to boredom the young people were influenced by their peer groups and their use of drugs. It seemed that for many of the them group acceptance and belonging were vital components when considering the use of drugs. In Chapter Three I recognised through the work of Thornton (1995), Nietzche (1871), Redhead (1993) that a feeling of belonging was a crucial component in the decision to take drugs or not. Peer pressure, or in more general terms peer group acceptance was something which was common to all the British areas and facilitated these feelings of belonging. Because for each of the young people their peers were located in the vicinity of their homes, place was also of particular importance. There was a spatiality of peer group pressure, perhaps because the groups are likely to be smaller in rural areas, that this type of pressure is more intensely felt by the young people. Drugs also gave the young people status and credibility within the peer group and as Thornton (1990) suggests these are locally produced feelings which in our case relate to the rural area. Here rurality would make a difference to the drug culture of the young people. The drugs gave the young people some 'subcultural capital' (Bourdieu 1984) and how that

[17] Obviously there would be factors such as income and class which are not spatial but may well prevent an individual from participating in some aspects of this scene.

capital was gained and judged was related to the local characteristics rather than to some more national frameworks of reference.

There were also groups of young people in each area who did not use, for them local peer groups may have worked in a reverse way ensuring that they did not try drugs. Again this may have been something which was created out of the characteristics of the local community rather than a global phenomenon and so rurality would appear to make a difference.

As I suggested in Chapter Three drugs did not form a focus for life for the young people in the British villages. It was not a form of escapism as hard drug use has been seen, but allowed the young people to escape the boredom (both spatially and non-spatially defined) that was experienced. It allowed a movement into an alternative form of reality and was a rational choice as part of their leisure time (Wells in Young 1997, Newcombe 1991, Parker et al 1995). This was not something which was necessarily nationally defined but related to the individual characteristics of each area. Rurality did make a difference.

What did seem to be occurring was a 'pick and mix' culture. The young people were able to make their own lifestyle from what was available all around them if they were prepared to make the required effort and wait a period of time. The mix aspect of the Parker and Measham (1994) and Mungford's (1994) work, which I discussed earlier, was down to individual local characteristics of the both the village and the young people involved. The youth worker responsible for the villages in Hertfordshire suggested that distinct cultures existed in each of the areas she was involved with, that each place had a popular substance, a popular location and other features which distinguished it from other areas.

> Alcohol in H1 doesn't seem to be a very big issue, they are all dabbling in it. There has been benches put outside the local pubs which is very convenient for them..... there doesn't seem to be a misuse of alcohol to that extent. In *Deepdale* it is rife, in a club on a Friday night they

> are coming in absolutely paralytic, a lot of alcohol, but then the drug situation isn't as high over there. Its also I think because of the music culture, because Indie is very high in *Deepdal*e and that is an alcohol based music culture. Over here it is still very much garage and jungle and that is drugs related, whether the two have got any relevance I don't know. [Youth Worker H1][18].

It was a post-modern culture, they did not have to take on board every aspect of it and this allowed them as individuals to be less cut off socially from the urban areas. They could feel a part of a wider culture without having to adhere to all the components of it (McRobbie 1994). This was similar to the neo-tribes from Maffesoli's work (1991) that I referred to earlier. Here the young people were using aspects of fashion, music and drugs to create bonds with like minded individuals in their peer group. They created an 'internal morality' (Halfacree 1997 :4) which bound the groups of individuals together. What mattered here was the place in which this was occurring and so rurality can be seen to be important again. There were differences which were related to the rural area and differences which were not. There was a culture or lifestyle developing which contained aspects of the national scene, but which also held many differences too. The local environment, the community and local characteristics provided this. Being in a rural environment mattered because of these differences and it could be argued that it was in fact the locality of each place that created such difference rather than rurality itself.

In New Zealand these ideas could be contrasted quite strongly. Here there was less emphasis on global or universal forms of culture but more an emphasis on the locality and specificity of each particular area. There were obvious links with fashion and music, but the culture here placed less emphasis on links with other rural and urban areas and more on the culture they created themselves. Being in a rural environment mattered here, there were particular characteristics concerned with the community, with the agricultural nature of the local industry, and with the geographical separation of the village from the towns and cities. The emerging drugs scene was both

[18] Deepdale is a name I have given this place to ensure anonymity.

locally based and was centred around the community being a rural community. What mattered here was that they were rural residents.

The difference that living in a rural environment made to the lives of the young people living there was therefore quite varied between the two countries, and in some respects between the individual villages. This difference was expressed in the ways in which the young people participated in drug use and in the way they had access to the fashion and music that young people nation-wide were involved with. In the final chapter these differences in the rural environment will be focused on in more detail. Here I will draw on the work from the previous chapters and discuss the strength of difference between urban and rural in the late 20th century.

Chapter Eight

The village community and culture - the difference of rurality. Discussions and conclusions.

8.1 Introduction.

On the 6th of August 1997 national media networks in Britain reported on the extent of recreational drug use by adults and young people at rave, dance and club events across the United Kingdom. The reports suggested that for the majority of individuals drugs were a lifestyle choice, a means of participating in group centred recreation which involved the consumption of drugs. The report focused on work by The Release Drugs and Dance Survey and concluded that of the 520 people surveyed in clubs and rave events in the South East, 97% had taken an illegal drug at some point in time and 87% had during the course of that evening. It suggested that the 15-19 year old age group was more likely to consume illegal substances than those older, and that there were few differences between the sexes in terms of drug use patterns. What was confirmed was the popularity of the so called 'designer drugs' such as ecstasy and LSD over the harder substances such as cocaine and heroin, and that drugs were more likely to be used to enhance positive feelings than to eradicate negative ones (Bennetto (1997), Campbell (1997) and Murray (1997)).

Drug use is an integral part of life in late 20th century Britain and looks likely to increase in popularity, rather than diminish in the near future. It can no longer be associated only with social groups who are seen to suffer form particular social and economic disadvantages, and can no longer be seen simply as a form of escapism from such deprivation. Drug use has a broader appeal than this, attracting users from a wide variety of social groups. Drugs are a common part of the social scene of many young people, an integral facet of the social and cultural way of being for groups and individuals in both affluent and deprived, and in rural and urban areas alike. For those who

choose not to use, drug use remains an important aspect of their social scene, infiltrating into the music, fashion and whole lifestyle of a variety of social groups.

My research was inspired by a belief that reports such as this reflected real patterns of drug use and that it was now so integrated into 20th century cultural groups, that young people, increasingly younger and younger, were becoming involved in the social and cultural scene surrounding drugs. My work was inspired by a belief that geographical location would only play a minor role in determining the drug use patterns of the individuals involved. Throughout this thesis the aim has been to establish the extent, nature and patterns of drug use by the young people living in rural areas of Britain. Were the drug using habits of young people in rural areas influenced by their environment in any way? Did their patterns of drug use differ from those in urban areas because of the environment in which they lived? Did rurality still make a difference to peoples lives? These were the questions that formed the central tenet of the thesis and have formed much of the basis for both the empirical work and the analysis.

In this the final chapter of the thesis these questions will be addressed and I will draw on the empirical evidence from the preceding chapters in order to do this. In the first section of this chapter I will summarise the evidence from the empirical chapters to evaluate and conclude about the differences rurality makes to the lives of the young people living in rural Britain. Later in this chapter a similar approach will be taken when regarding the work from New Zealand, and I will draw out from this how rural areas in Britain differ substantially from their New Zealand counterparts. Finally I will conclude by suggesting that in each of the two countries different forms of locality play different roles in deterring the differences in drug use between urban and rural areas.

8.2 The difference rurality makes. Evidence from the British fieldsites.

In Chapter One various definitions of rurality were discussed. Here it was established that socio-spatial definitions fail to recognise the increasing links that rurality has with the outside world, and that rural areas are no longer, (if they ever were), physically socially and economically unique areas (Cloke and Park 1985, Cloke 1989). Here, definitions of rurality based on the presence or absence of certain characteristics become inadequate because many characteristics are seen to be present in urban as well as rural areas and the uniqueness or difference of rurality can be contested (Hoggart 1990). Despite this, there remains a discursive view that rural areas are free from social and economic ills, that they are separate physical entities. This 'rural idyll' I suggested, is depicted in a variety of ways among sources of popular culture, media representations of rurality, and indeed as an image, is embedded in literature and artistic representations of rural life (see work by Crouch (1992), Bunce (1994), Daniels (1992), Mingay (1989a,b,c), Short (1992) and Short J (1991) whose work demonstrates this). This continues through to the present day and as I illustrated in Chapter One work by Houlton and Short (1995), Robbins (1991a) and Hughes (1996) portrays the power of these images.

Chapter One also identified how in reality this idyll was created out of myths, and that deprivation, both economic and social, exists in rural areas alongside many of the other so called failings of contemporary society. Drug use was also shown to be a facet of rural life both historically and in contemporary Britain. Here differences between the urban and the rural would appear to be limited, certainly in terms of the social, cultural and economic problems that exist in both environments, and consequently rural environments become less than idyllic places in which to live. Where rurality does differ is in the nature of its physical environment, the peace, space and the advantages of a close proximity to nature that it has to offer. Here difference from the urban world can be construed in a positive way, difference being seen as advantageous. But opposition to the urban arena is felt in negative ways too,

through geographical and social isolation from the advantages of the urban world, through access to recreational and social facilities and through employment opportunities. Difference here relates to the restrictions and isolation felt by many rural inhabitants.

The pervasive power of the rural idyll ensures that the shortcomings of rurality often remain unrecognised. Because it is created and sustained by those in powerful positions, the rural idyll, as a myth, is able to override much of the reality of rural life (Massey 1995). Here discourse comes to affect practice, as individuals who experience the negative sides of rurality may feel inadequate, and find feelings of insecurity arising out of their inability to find perfection in the rural environment or they may be excluded discursively or experientially from the rural environment (Sibley 1995). As the power of the rural idyll is sustained, its pervasiveness ensures that such discursive representations of rural life are maintained. Images of rurality as an environment different to the urban arena is maintained through practices such as this.

In Chapter One I argued that for children and young people in rural areas feelings of anger, frustration and isolation are often a common occurrence. As a group they often feel more acutely the issues of social and physical separation from the opportunities of the urban world that adults can to some degree avoid (Cloke Milbourne and Thomas 1995, Ward (1990)[1]. The rural environment makes a difference to their lives here, in a negative way. In comparison to this, rural environments are thought to provide children and young people with freedom from the social ills of the urban world, allowing them to develop freely in a quiet and fulfilling landscape (Ward (1990),Valentine (1995)). Where rurality does provide such opportunity, the rural environment again contrasts strongly with the urban arena. Whether difference is felt in a positive or negative way here rurality still makes a difference.

[1] See the work in Chapter One for further references of social and cultural deprivation in rural areas as experienced by young people.

In Chapter Two it was illustrated how rural areas have come to be seen as places where health is promoted, and as spaces which are both therapeutic and healing. I suggested through the work of Gesler (1992, 1996) and Philo (1987) that this is not a recently emerging concept, but that for many centuries rural areas and the products emerging from them, have been used as integral parts of the healing process. This contrasts strongly with the association between urban environments and health where there is an underlying tone that physical and mental stresses, pollution and simply the contrasting way of life, contribute more to ill-health than to health. What rurality offers in terms of health care is peace, tranquillity, a closeness to nature and a removal from the pressures and strains of the modern urban world. Again rurality is conceptualised as being different, different in a positive way when compared to the urban world. For rurality to promote health in this way, a strong faith in the healing properties of the environment and its properties must exist. In this case the medicines used include nature's by-products and an immersion in rural culture, in nature. This coupled with a separation from the urban world is often enough to promote health and well being in those who are ill. Again discursive representations of rurality are seen to affect people in the everyday practices of their lives.

In Chapter Two what was suggested therefore was that rural living still held differences from urban living, in this case in terms of the health of individuals living or visiting there. Whether this reflected reality, or whether it was substantiated only by people's beliefs is debatable, but differences are seen to persist at both a discursive and experiential level between the two environments.

Chapter Three identified the cultural analysis of youth groups in the 20th century and suggested that the emphasis on deviance and class based groups was no longer recognising the diversity of youth cultures in the contemporary world. I argued here that subcultural analysis was no longer addressing social groups which were more fluid and lifestyle oriented and

that this was how many young people's social groups were now forming. I argued that in terms of drug use many social groups were involved with the more fluid and intermittent lifestyle forms than subcultural analysis had previously recognised.

Chapter Four identified the methodology and the problems of researching both youth and drug users. I feel that through positioning my own work I have identified many of the shortcomings of ethnographic research.

Chapter Five identified that drug use did exist in rural areas, that it was present among a number of young people in all the areas of study and that it was not 'exotic' drug use in the way that discourses of drug use have previously suggested it is[2]. What was occurring was similar to urban use of drugs, certainly among the young people to whom I spoke. Rurality did not make a difference in terms of the presence or absence of drug use, only in terms of the time it took to obtain the substances and the cultural outlets available in which to use them in.

Chapter Six suggested that in rural areas, particular environments or spaces were used for the supply and consumption of drugs. This specific use of space obviously occurs in urban environments too, but in rural areas the types of spaces used were found to be far more general and 'public' by definition, than the spaces used in urban areas. They were places that originally were used by the whole village population and often still were at particular times of the day. Here the rural and urban differed quite dramatically as in urban areas spaces used for drug supply and consumption, I would suggest, tend to be more hidden and removed from the public eye.
Finally, Chapter Seven drew on the theoretical work of Chapter Three and analysed the ways in which young people in rural areas felt part of, or separate from, the culture of young people in the urban areas. I argued in

[2] By exotic drug use I refer here to the use of farm substances and veterinary substances that have attracted media attention in recent years (The Independent March 1994, Hornsby (1995)).

Chapter Three that youth groups need to be analysed more in terms of lifestyle groups than subcultures. I also wanted to establish whether these groups of young people in rural areas were a part of a nationalised culture of whether they had their own separate identity. In many respects there was no difference in the activities and behaviour of the two groups of young people. In other ways though there were distinct contrasts which related to the physical separation of the rural and urban, and the time required for social and cultural aspects of the lifestyle to infiltrate into the rural areas. In this instance life in a rural area made a difference to the lives of young people. It was often a negative difference, referring to isolation from opportunity, and it was a persistent theme among varied groups of young people to whom I spoke.

In this summary of the thesis I have drawn together evidence and suggested that life in a rural area holds some similarities to the urban but also many tenacious differences. The two areas become not simply component parts of a wider whole, but have separate identities and characteristics which distinguish them from each other. They are individual localities with place specific characteristics. The difference that rural living made to the drug using habits of the young people living there related to the time required to obtain the drugs, the places used for drug supply and consumption of drugs and the ways in which their drug use was related to wider patterns of youth behaviour, their ability to belong to a wider cultural group. Section 8.3 below draws on some of these ideas and concludes about the difference that each rurality made, and the differences that rurality *per se* made to these overall patterns of drug use.

8.3 Rurality and drug use in Britain.

The central focus of this research has been to establish the ways in which rural living creates and sustains differences which are felt by its inhabitants. In the case of this thesis it has been centred around the ways in which rurality affects drug use patterns of the young people living there. In Chapter Seven

the central theme was to establish how young people's use of drugs in rural areas was a part of, or similar to that occurring in the urban environment. Was there an overriding culture which all young people were a part of, or was it more localised requiring the young people to create and sustain their own individual ways of being in the rural environment which differed from the urban culture?

This thesis has confirmed that drug use is as much a facet of rural life as urban and that the young people living there are able to obtain and use a wide variety of substances. They, as a group, appear to be responding to signals which relate to a much wider culture than would have been previously expected for a rural community. I had previously felt that there would be greater emphasis on locality and the immediate environment. There is little which prevents them being a part of a national or international culture of drug use, music, fashion and a broader way of life. Geographical separation does not seem to play such an important role in determining patterns of use, with respect to both supply and consumption. The rural areas I studied were not that remote in Britain, and had I studied places such as the Hebrides I may well have found rurality playing an increasingly important role in determining patterns of use because of the mere isolation or separation of the area from other localities[3]. In both Hertfordshire and Yorkshire physical separation or isolation did not inhibit patterns of use by the young people. They could, and did, respond to and participate in, a wider culture which had drugs as a central facet and which united or consolidated groups of young people into something which provided a sense of belonging. Something where they were surrounded by like minded people with similar interests, attitudes and beliefs (Maffesoli 1989, 1991, 1996).

In both Hertfordshire and Yorkshire the villages I studied fell into zones which were close enough to allow the young people to gravitate to the entertainment in the towns and cities. They had access to these point-

[3] Although it must be noted that in 1997 reports in The Times suggested that in much of Scotland drug was a common feature.

centred forms of recreation, and they were not so far removed from the clubs and social events, the fashion and music stores and other consumption outlets which have become so central to the drug scene. The young people were able to access this culture, they were able to be a part of something which extended far beyond the scene which was focused in their village. It did not require them to have geographical proximity to the central points of the culture, but instead required them to have periodical access to them as and when they wanted to, and when they made the required efforts to do so.

It was almost as if it was an expected part of a rural lifestyle, to have to make concentrated efforts to be a part of a wider cultural community. Drugs were part of this community, they were an activity that many young people, whether urban or rural would participate in (Newcombe, 1994, Measham, Newcombe and Parker 1995). Drugs were part of a wider culture and had become an acceptable facet of the scene. They were simply what young people did and geographical location did not appear to determine the patterns of use they demonstrated.

On commencing the research I had felt that distinct differences would be exhibited between the two sites of Yorkshire and Hertfordshire. I felt that the geographical location of the villages, the isolation from urban centres, would determine or at least influence, patterns of drug use. I had also expected to see differences which reflected the nature of the community in which the young people were living, that each area would have particular social and cultural rules which were place specific rather than nation-wide patterns of use.

Initially my thoughts surrounding the differences between the two areas were focused on the issues of location. I had felt that Villages Y1 and Y2 would be more self reliant, that their patterns of drug use and the surrounding culture would reflect their extensive separation from the urban scene. I had also imagined that the nature of the rural community would also be

determined by their proximity to the urban areas and hence that cultural differences would ensure that patterns of use were unique.

To some extent these differences were reflected in the nature and patterns of drug use I saw and they were in many ways related to the geographical position of the community. But in many respects too, the place in which the community was situated did not seem make a considerable difference. What the young people did, how they obtained their drugs, what drugs they used and the cultural components which surrounded this use, did not originate out of the rural location only, but out of a combination of the village community and culture and wider cultural influences from the urban (and indeed other rural) areas. The young people appeared to have full access to the substances and point-centred entertainment that they wished to participate in and so the location of Villages Y1 and Y2 in the depths of the Yorkshire Dales, spatially separate from the towns and cities of Yorkshire, did not create cultural separation to the degree that I had expected it to.

In Hertfordshire I had expected to see a closer relationship between the urban patterns of use and the surrounding culture and those occurring in the Villages H1, H2 and H3. In reality each of the villages exhibited differences which were no stronger or weaker than they had been in Yorkshire. The young people again participated in drug use with a variety of substances and in a variety of social situations and the place related cultural differences were quite limited. Concluding on this it would be possible to argue that space made little or no difference to the patterns of drug use exhibited in rural areas, that rurality did not hold the social and cultural significance that it perhaps once held, and therefore did not result in significant contrasts to the urban areas. Perhaps the call by Hoggart (1990) for the abandonment of the term 'the rural' would seem applicable, after all if the culture of youth in rural areas relied more heavily on the urban scene than on its own culture, did rurality still matter? Did it still make a difference?

The rural areas that I studied however, were not simply parts of a wider whole, they did exhibit some variance compared to the urban scene. These differences I would suggest came under three main categories: the types of drugs used, the ways in which community characteristics altered patterns of use, and the nature of the rural community itself. In villages Y1, Y1, H1, H2 and H3 little use of hard drugs was referred to by the young people. Heroin and cocaine were not mentioned frequently during the interviews and I would suggest that it was not a focus point for the age group with whom I was talking to. Designer drugs such as ecstasy, LSD and speed and softer drugs such as cannabis, alcohol and tobacco however were talked about frequently and were the focus points of drug use patterns in and around the villages of study. Whether these patterns were place related or age related is impossible to determine from my work, but if they relate to the places of residence then rural areas are once again unique and different from their urban counterparts.

The fieldwork also established that in each of the villages in the British study areas, there was little evidence of problems concerned with accessibility. The young people did not feel the geographical isolation that I had felt they would experience. There were few issues concerned with the young people being unable to obtain substances; distance did not seem to relate to availability of drugs or whether the young people could participate in point centred entertainment. Their accessibility was not so much related to the region or place in which they lived, but was likely to be more concerned with cultural and economic differences that related to parental willingness to transport the young people to the centres of entertainment, or that would simply allow them to make their own way there. There was almost a cultural component to this accessibility which surrounded the village communities and the young people were aware that if one set of parents were against an activity then it was likely that many others would be too.

Finally, in each of the rural communities I studied in Britain I became aware of the place-specific community characteristics which distinguished one area from another. These differences were related to the individuals that lived in each area, the way they interacted with one another and the rules and regulations that they created and sustained for the village community. The community characteristics did not seem to exist in the way that I had felt they would, there was less concern for surveillance and fewer references to gossip than I had imagined there would be. The young people did cite conformity as a characteristic of their environment though, and placed emphasis on belonging and fitting in as major components of village life. They did not only feel pressure to conform and therefore belong to their peer groups, but also to the wider village community. This relates well to the work of Bell (1994) and Rapport (1993) whose studies illustrated distinct needs to 'fit in' as felt by the residents of rural areas.

In both of the British regions of study the young people talked about feeling pressure to conform to the majority of young people in the community. This pressure was both verbal and behavioural with individuals being physically excluded from social groupings if they did not conform. In one of the focus groups in Village Y1 Erin, Diane and Simon talked about their dress styles as being something which required conformity within the village, that individualism was something praised only in the city. They state;

> Erin - Everybody is watching you here.
> *Diane - But you know everyone.*
> **Simon - You can't go out in clothes that you want other people will laugh at them., everybody knows that you will laugh at them, but in a city you can just ignore them, probably never see them again anyway.**
> That's it as well everything is really old fashioned as well, if you go to Leeds there are people walking down the street stoned with hardly any clothes on anyway, people can wear what ever they want. You know they could walk out in their hot pants and their bra things as well, and then there's some people who....well there's us lot who wear certain dress things not to be laughed at.
> *Narrow minded. [Focus Group Village Y1].*

Similarly Robert from Village Y1 also suggested that the village was a conservative place where difference was frowned upon and that in the towns and cities it would be praised.

> Yeah people are more conservative about everything around here, like what you do, what you say and what you wear. If I go out in what I like in the country I will get a lot of hassle in the country because it is not what the norm wears but if I were to say go out in Romdale or Windale, people might snigger or something but they probably wouldn't realise they were sniggering or that, people wouldn't really be bothered what you were wearing. [Robert aged 16 years Village Y1].

This conformity was place specific and localised. It was not something which was rural or urban based, but place based. It affected their patterns of drug use, the drugs they used, the places used for supply and consumption and the ways in which the young people used drug use as a means of belonging to a wider youth movement. It was not completely separate and did not involve a totally unique culture, but had individualised characteristics which made it different in smaller and more specific ways to the urban scene.

From these discussions it would appear that in rural Britain patterns of behaviour associated with youth cultural groupings diffuse from the urban into the rural areas. There would seem to be few differences associated with the attitudes and expectations of the young people in the two locations. Space would seem to not affect the presence or absence of drug use, it did not determine whether young people felt they were expected to participate or not, but it did make a difference in terms of the surveillance that the young people were subjected to. The mere size of the rural community ensured that places used for the supply and consumption of drugs could never be that private. Having recently returned to Village H1 to meet up with the young people again I found that the places used by them to consume a variety of substances were changing. It seemed that as the younger groups became involved in the scene and as places became renowned for drug use that they changed the spaces that they used within the village.

It seemed that the young people in Villages Y1, Y2, H1, H2 and H3 were engaging with a nationalised set of expectations, aspirations, attitudes and beliefs and forming their own way of being from this. In this respect what the young people were doing was creating a smaller and less defined sub-group, almost on the lines of Maffesoli's neo-tribe (1989, 1991), in which they could engage with like minded individuals, but which had strong links to the outside culture, in this case the urban culture, and way of life. Because the young people's activities were strongly aligned to the activities of the urban youth and because what they did was part of a wider pattern of behaviour and actions, there was less need to be neo-tribal in the true sense of the term. Some independence was maintained and there were localised characteristics, but the associations with the urban areas maintained the links between the two locations.

I would suggest though that maybe what was in existence was a neo-tribal grouping, but with smaller groups within this which were linked to the neo-tribe, and hence to the wider culture, but which were also separate from it. Perhaps it involved those who did not participate in drug-based activities. They may have been a part of the wider culture and may have upheld the attitudes and opinions of the wider group, and they may even have worn the fashion and listened to the music which was so integral to the culture, but they did not use the drugs[4].

But why did some of the young people reject the drugs part of this culture? Was their decision to do this in any way informed by their location in a rural area? For some I would suggest that a forceful parental role or domination may have been enough to prevent use. For others their own ethical and moral codes of conduct would have been strong enough to resist the temptations of substance use. Whether these feelings were initiated or

[4] Indeed one girl from Village H1 suggested to me when demonstrating some of the fashions that had drug motifs and images on the fabrics, that it was in fact more likely to be those who did not use drugs who would wear these clothes as some kind of statement of credibility, as a way of feeling as if they were part of the whole that the other young people were creating.

strengthened by their location in rural areas is impossible to establish. I would argue though that in communities where homogeneity and stability are praised and where there is a strong sense of community ties and commitment to the maintenance of the village, that some young people would feel a need to sustain rather than contradict the nature of the wider community.

In addition, it may be that particular social groupings were more likely to not use, perhaps the lower socio-economic groups, because of the costs, or perhaps the higher socio-economic groups because of their ability to participate in other social activities[5]. Perhaps it was age related and that on reaching a certain age the non-users would be drawn into patterns of use. Perhaps it was more related to gender with males feeling a stronger need to fit in and be a part of their peer group. Whether non-use was related to the age, gender, socio-economic status of the group, or whether it was related more to external factors in each area is perhaps where further research could be directed. But it seems unlikely that these reasons relate more than slightly to the nature of the rural location. There was in rural Britain a diffused youth cultural motif which had drug use as a central part of it, and which infiltrated down from the urban scene, was taken on board and transformed by the rural youth into something which was similar but yet distinguishable from the urban scene.

Here the rural becomes more than a space which is separate only in terms of the physical distance between itself and urban areas. Rurality here relates to the nature of the people who live there, the community and ways in which they create and sustain a place which is unique from all others. Rurality therefore matters in that it sustains an environment which is localised. There was not one rural community, one rural culture in my British fieldwork, but many (Philo 1992). What becomes important here is locality rather than specifically rurality. Places may be closer in terms of access and what they

[5] I accept that I am making extreme generalisations here about the nature of socio-economic differences but use it only to establish difference between contrasting income groups.

offer individuals than ever before, yet I would argue that it is the local environment in which people live that they most closely relate to forming local communities with local characteristics be they urban or rural in origin. As Harvey (1989) states as a result of feelings of insecurity arising from globalisation, we need a notion of place even more than before, a retreat from an uncontrollable world and our local environment provides us with that.

Place remains vital to our understanding of the world, to our behaviour and to our feelings of belonging and rural places are no different in this. As Massey concludes

> 'the local' is not irrelevant: uniqueness is constructed (and reconstructed) by combinations of local characteristics with those wider social relations. Place is an 'articulation' of that specific mix in social space-time. Nowhere else can have precisely the same characteristics, the same combination of social processes. (Massey 1995 :223).

From this I would argue that certainly in Britain the rural communities did differ and because of these cultural and community wide differences, the young people's experience of drug use and the culture that surrounded this also differed.

This section has therefore analysed the ways in which the rural still remains a unique environment in which the people evolve with their own cultural and social characteristics. In New Zealand there were some more obvious differences, and a more visible culture uniqueness of the rural areas. In the following section the role that rurality in the drug using habits of the New Zealand youth I spoke with will be discussed.

8.4 Rurality in New Zealand.

Throughout this thesis the New Zealand fieldsite has been analysed separately from the British work. This was a conscious decision so that comparisons could be made easily and that the differences and similarities

between the two areas could be more easily analysed. This was also the result of the differences that I encountered during the fieldwork. Prior to the research I felt that there would be many similarities between the two areas and that in analysis they could be treated as parts of a wider whole. In reality this was not the case and the two countries were quite different, not only physically but culturally too, and this was reflected in their experiences of rurality and of drug use. I therefore chose to regard them separately in the analysis.

As I identified in Chapter One New Zealand's culture arose out of a combination of the indigenous Maori culture and the European immigrant culture. After a period of immigration the New Zealand population came to view rurality in a similar way to the British, as a place free from social and economic ills. This was a direct result of the British immigrant population dominating the social and cultural development of New Zealand and dominating the ways in which rural and urban spaces were seen. In Chapter One I also identified how the economic and social make up of rural New Zealand differed from that in Britain. A reliance upon agriculture and the dominance of the Maori population being two of the most significant contrasts between the two countries. Rurality therefore differed quite strongly in New Zealand compared to its British counterpart in terms of its economic, social and cultural makeup. This research stemmed beyond this though and was developed around the notion that these differences would affect the patterns of drug use by the young people living there. Did their use of drugs differ firstly from the urban use in New Zealand, and secondly from rural use in Britain? In the following section of this thesis a similar pattern of analysis will be used as in the case of the British fieldwork.

In Chapter Five the extent and nature of rural drug use in New Zealand was identified, and the widespread use of cannabis and alcohol by the New Zealand people was centred upon. Here rurality made a difference for it was in the rural areas that much of the cannabis consumed in both the rural and

urban areas was grown. The urban drugs scene relied more upon the manufactured substances, and also exhibited a more sporadic pattern of drug use which occurred in particular music based venues such as night-clubs. This compared strongly with the rural scene where use appeared to be more of a day to day activity as part of more general forms of entertainment rather than simply linked in with the music. Rurality appeared to make a considerable difference to the ways in which drug use occurred in the rural areas. It made a difference in terms of the drugs that were consumed, and the places and situations in which they were used. New Zealand rural areas exhibited a far greater geographical separation from the urban areas than had existed in Britain and consequently feelings of physical separation were far more acutely felt by the young people living there. As a result young people wishing to participate in the urban scene of club based drug use were isolated. They were forced to create their own different patterns of drug use, and consequently a whole culture of drug use developed in the rural areas which was different and separate to urban patterns of use.

Chapter Six focused on the places used for the supply and consumption of drugs. Here what was in question was whether particular 'no-go' zones existed in rural areas (as I would suggest they often do in urban areas), places feared because they were where drugs were supplied and consumed. In New Zealand these areas were less defined than they had been in Britain. Drug dealing did occur in public areas such as the parks and school grounds, at peoples houses, and also in more secretive areas which varied from week to week and often from day to day, they were less strongly structured places and varied more than they had in Britain. What seemed to distinguish Britain from New Zealand here was the fact that use of drugs, especially cannabis, was far more accepted among the general population than it had been in Britain and so places used for supply and consumption did not need to be as secretive or hidden as they did in Britain. The rural areas almost had an acceptability of drug use among their population, particularly cannabis use. This distinguished the rural areas in New Zealand from their British

counterparts and from the urban areas in New Zealand where drug use of any description appeared to be a far more sanctioned activity and hence secretive.

In Chapter Seven what was established was the ways in which young people, and their drug use either became part of, or was separate from, the culture and use of drugs by young people in the urban areas. Did they belong to a wider youth cultural scene or were they separate enough to create and sustain their own patterns of use? What was it that distinguished one area from another?

The fieldwork indicated that for many of the young people in the rural areas drug use was not a club or venue based activity, but was something that they did on an everyday basis in the village[6]. They did not feel the need to be part of a wider cultural community of young people, music, fashion and drugs. They were able to create and sustain their own culture which involved taking drugs on a day to day basis, as and when they required them. It was not something which needed particular venues and music, it was a cultural activity which was relatively specific to them as a group of young people. Here rurality made a difference to the ways in which drug use was experienced by the young people in rural areas. The young people living in rural districts were isolated from the music based venues and activities of the city, the night-clubs and the concerts, from the fashions and styles emerging there. They were almost forced to create and sustain patterns of use which were separate and because of this isolation this did distinguish the two areas from one another.

In New Zealand the patterns of drug use in the rural areas as carried out by the young people there exhibited far stronger differences to the urban scene than was demonstrated in Britain. The rural areas there were far more

[6] I use the term village here despite the fact that in New Zealand the 'village' as we know it in Britain does not really exist in the same capacity. I use it here to retain some continuity in the analysis between the two countries.

geographically, socially and culturally separate from the urban areas. But in Britain what still distinguished rural from urban was the nature of the rural community, and the ways in which the individuals and groups of young people took the urban scene and its contents and transformed it into something similar yet different to the urban scene. In New Zealand it was not so much that patterns of use emerged from the urban scene and were transformed, but that they originated and were maintained in completely different ways to the urban scene. In the following section these ideas will be given further analysis as I address the cultural differences in the New Zealand rural community.

8.5 Cultural differences in the New Zealand rural community.

In Chapter One I suggested that historically rural areas have been predominantly associated with the Maori population, and that even in contemporary New Zealand many rural areas are dominated by the indigenous people and their culture. Communities in rural New Zealand retain many of these cultural differences from their British counterparts where racial groups and other culturally different groups were excluded physically, socially or even simply discursively from the village community[7]. In New Zealand racial differences are an acceptable part of every rural community, indeed every urban community too, and so race is not something which differentiated the rural from the urban landscape.

But it was not only racial differences that distinguished British from New Zealand rural areas. Despite the fact that New Zealand evolved predominantly from the British culture it retained much of its own cultural identity and developed this alongside the British imported culture. In New Zealand rurality came to be seen as a landscape which was less prestigious

[7] Many of the young people I spoke to in Britain suggested that different ethnic groups, different social groups were made to feel unwelcome in rural areas, and that this process of exclusion extended beyond this to incorporate differences such as dress and style. Some of the young people even suggested that they were subjected to criticism because of the way in which they dressed and the attitudes they upheld. This they felt was very different to the urban areas where it was felt that difference would be praised.

than urban areas, and was less idealised than the British rural areas were. It did not have the same social prestige that the British rural areas held. In many respects, as I argued in Chapter one, the rural landscape has in reality been regarded as a backward place which often proves frustrating and limiting in terms of what they can offer individuals. Rural areas in New Zealand have come to be regarded as backward and separate because of their geographical separation from the urban districts. They have been forced to create and sustain their own cultural way of doing things, their own cultural makeup, which has ensured that they have become self sufficient in many respects and have furthered their independence from urban New Zealand.

Cultural and social (racial), differences are not the only ways which distinguish urban from rural, difference is exhibited in the economic makeup of communities too. In Chapter One I identified the structure of the New Zealand rural economy, its reliance upon agriculture and forestry, and the ways in which this creates a social structure and a whole culture which quite strongly contrasts with the urban scene. In rural New Zealand the whole culture of communities is centred around the agriculture, be it arable farming, dairy farming or forestry. The people live within certain codes of conduct and behaviour which are created and maintained by the agricultural way of life. Rural communities in New Zealand are therefore strongly self sufficient in terms of their economic makeup too. Much of what they consume is locally produced goods. What is not grown locally is usually found within the confines of New Zealand as the geographical isolation of the country ensures that import costs are high. There is reliance upon exports only when there is an inability to produce what is needed within the country. What exists is almost a 'Do it Yourself' culture, the population of New Zealand relying upon their own resourcefulness and initiative to produce adequate supplies for the population. This D.I.Y culture extends beyond the production of food supplies to a variety of other issues, for example any New Zealanders are involved in the design and construction of their own homes,

and there is a strong emphasis on self sufficiency in a number of totally unrelated areas[8].

In a similar way that the economics of rural areas maintain an ethos of self sufficiency, the culture of rural communities create and sustain notions of self reliance within their boundaries too. I would argue that in New Zealand rural communities often have their own social life, their own way of doing things and consequently their own culture. This way of life is not immune to the influences of the urban world but retains independence from it, and creates an identity which is therefore separate. I would argue that in rural New Zealand there is therefore less need to be in touch with the urban way of doing things, that rural areas are separate enough to be content with a degree of difference. Consequently, difference here comes to be seen as a positive rather than negative aspect of rural life, because it evolves out of a conscious decision to be different and there is less desire to copy or keep up with the urban.

In terms of drug use in rural areas this D.I.Y culture persists too. Here again difference is something which is construed as positive and which distinguishes the two areas from one another[9]. In rural New Zealand the community often grows its own supply of cannabis and places little reliance upon the urban networks for the adequate supply of drugs for its population. There is almost a sense that being different raises the credibility of the rural drugs scene, they are not simply trying to emulate the urban scene but are content to have a culture which is different and therefore credible in its own right. The drug using patterns of rural youth would therefore differ quite considerably from their urban counterparts, but difference here would be an accepted facet of rural life and the young people would need less to feel a

[8] Whilst I was in New Zealand I became increasingly aware of this D.I.Y culture. The families I spent my time with were good home cooks, they sewed and the created things for their homes. I would suggest that for many of the urban populations in New Zealand in the late 20th Century that this is less important because of time constraints but that in the rural areas I saw it was quite dominant.

[9] I would suggest that this is only seen as positive to the users themselves and that the rest of the community may find it a negative phenomenon.

part of a wider cultural scene. This compares well with ideas emerging in popular literature in Britain which suggests that the club scene and its associated drug use is often termed the 'D.I.Y leisure industry'[10]. Here individuals take responsibility for their own recreational happiness through obtaining and consuming their drug of choice, usually in a club based venue, and rely less upon external factors to provide them with the sense of gratification that individuals often seek.

The rural drugs scene in New Zealand therefore differs substantially both from the urban scene in New Zealand, where drugs are simply bought and consumed in a regulated and organised fashion, and also from the British rural drugs scene where patterns of use tend to follow the urban scene more. In Britain the D.I.Y culture was one centred around consumption, with the fashions and trends of the scene emerging from the urban areas and infiltrating down into the rural areas, irrespective of the time taken for this to occur. In New Zealand it was a culture which was still D.I.Y, but here it was based around both the production and consumption of drugs. In New Zealand it was also a more self sufficient way of drug use, requiring less from the urban world, if anything, to exist and be sustained by those involved, it had its own music and fashion, and its own culture. Because the scene in New Zealand was centred around the production and consumption of cannabis, and because much of what was consumed was also grown locally there was a tendency for the drugs scene to be a much more local affair, with each rural town, or group of rural towns having their way of doing things. Their own culture of acceptability and non-acceptability[11].

Not only was it with drug use such as cannabis that there were local patterns of use and established codes of conduct, but there were also localised

[10] By popular literature I refer here to magazines such as Time Out and The Face which focus on music, fashion and dance as central facets of their work.

[11] It is ironic that now in the urban areas of New Zealand they rely on the cannabis grown in the rural areas, that because of a lack of supply that there is now a trend towards hydroponic systems which can be used anywhere and do not require the conditions of rural areas to exist.

characteristics which related to the use of alcohol. Here rurality, and the rural community differed substantially from the urban scene. As I identified in the empirical chapters alcohol consumption was thought to be ingrained in the rural culture among both the young people and the adult population. Although drinking is obviously a universal phenomenon, it was suggested by many of the young people in Village NZ1 that the abusive way in which it was consumed and the extent to which the community relied upon it as a source, or as an integral part of, their entertainment, was characteristic of rural communities in general more than it was in urban areas.

One facet of alcohol consumption in rural areas was concerned with drink driving and the degree to which it was accepted as an aspect of rural life. There was a greater degree of acceptability of this form of behaviour in rural than in urban areas, almost a belief that they had exemption from the law, that their physical separation sanctioned such behaviour. In Village NZ1 drink driving was a matter of course. It was not a conscious decision that was made, but something that enabled the adults and some of the older young people to get home after a night out. It was not thought of as a dangerous activity but as a necessity, a part of life in a rural area. When questioned on these issues many of the young people from the villages stated drink driving as being part of their way of life, that it happened and there was nothing anyone could do about it. It was part of the course of living in a rural area. Helena suggests that it was an integral facet of rural life in Village NZ1. The people did not worry about the use of it;

> Yeah I reckon [it is] because where we come from down the coast a bit, there are few cops and heaps of rages. People don't worry about getting caught and that. You can be drunk and still drive but you have to watch out for other people. [Helena aged 18 years Village NZ1]

It was so much a part of the rural culture that in the few months that I was there a campaign was underway on television aiming to reduce the incidents of drunk driving and hence the deaths. It was called 'Country people die on country roads' and was quite explicit in its message. Louise talked about the

campaign and how rural people still believed that they has a right to drink and drive.

> They don't realise that 'Country people die on country roads' Rural people think that they are OK, there aren't many cars and its dirt roads. And so they go to the pub after work and have a few beers and then they drive home and because there is no transport and they can't afford a taxi and that they just do it. [Louise aged 17 years Village NZ1].

But despite the campaign, and despite many of the young people adopting a more sensible attitude towards drink driving the whole ethos was still ingrained in the rural culture. I felt this was a distinctive difference between the rural communities and the urban communities that was not so apparent in Britain[12]. Village NZ1 had itself been subjected to deaths relating to drink driving and was as a result of this causing the community to *think twice* about its actions. Paula suggests that the people of the town would still behave in certain ways though. She said they would;

> go to a party and think 'Oh I can drive home'. Its slowed down since an accident when two people died last year and they were well known and it put people off. [Paula aged 17 years Village NZ1].

I would argue that in New Zealand the rural communities exhibited strong cultural differences from the urban communities. Here there were racial differences, cultural differences, and economic differences which placed rural communities in a category of their own, separate from the urban world. These differences then had implications for the ways in which drug use developed in the community. It had a drugs culture of its own, patterns of drug use, places for use and an extent of use which was unique compared to all other rural, as well as urban, areas.

In this section I have identified the ways in which New Zealand rural communities lend themselves towards particular differences from the urban scene. The ways in which they exist as communities separate to the urban

[12] Here I am not suggesting that rural drink driving does not occur in Britain, but that it is not such a strong characteristic of the community as it is in New Zealand where the cultural acceptance of this behaviour was a distinguishing feature of the community.

world reflects upon the lives of those living there, and in terms of the subject matter of this thesis, with regard to the patterns of drug use too. In this respect what is occurring in rural New Zealand contrasts strongly with the urban scene and what is created is a culture which exists in its own right, which provides stability and belonging for its members. The drugs scene in rural New Zealand is therefore 'neo-tribal' in nature creating a fluid group in which individuals can feel belonging and group solidarity (Maffesoli 1991). The groups of drug users are far more locally defined in rural New Zealand than in Britain and the culture that surrounds their patterns of use reflects this, being less focused on what is occurring in the urban scene. What is seen here is another way in which the two countries exhibit particular differences from one another.

In Britain I felt that the culture was less clearly associated with the rural environment, that the strong links with the urban world made it separate from, yet linked too the urban culture. What was happening was a transformation of the urban culture into more locally specific pockets of culture, but which were aligned to the urban scene. In New Zealand the drugs culture was far more locally based and here it was rurality which made the difference. The rural community was physically, socially and economically separate enough to have its own drug culture. In the final section these ideas will be addressed in more detail with a critical analysis of the ways in which we view drug use *per se*.

8.6 Drug use as a cultural activity.

In the earlier sections of this chapter I discussed the ways in which rurality made a difference to the drug using habits of the populations in each of the study villages. In this section what is to be discussed is the ways in which drug use has been systematically viewed by the general population. Through this I shall suggest that perhaps drug use should be regarded in alternative ways which recognise its importance as a form of social behaviour and a

means of creating groups of individuals who 'belong', whether discursively or socially with one another.

Throughout this thesis drug use has been regarded as a form of entertainment, a means of reducing boredom and as a contribution to leisure or pleasure in the late 20th century. In each of the villages I suggested there were some similarities with urban use of drugs and some differences. But in each case study area there appeared to be parts of the drug using culture which were unique to that area, which bonded the like minded individuals into a cohesive group and distinguished them from other groups in other areas. In Chapters Three and Seven I used the work of Maffesoli (1989, 1991) to discuss the ways in which drug use can be seen as an expression of social belonging, a form of neo-tribalism in which the members have a degree of social commitment to each other, to the group, and to the forms of behaviour that are seen as characteristic of that group.

Following on in this vein I now suggest that drug use should be seen increasingly in this way, as a means of collective belonging rather than simply as a form of entertainment. McFerran (1976) studied the social uses of marijuana smoking by a group of New Zealanders in the early 1970's and used this case study to illustrate the ways in which drugs were used by groups of individuals. McFerran uses the work of sociologists to illustrate his ideas surrounding the sociable nature of man suggesting that;

> [Man] primarily seeks sociability with his own kind, his fellow creatures. Most of his pursuits in life centre on his initiating sociability with others, of preserving these contacts and of maintaining them as pleasantly as it is humanly possible. (1976 : 10).

These social contacts with others create a situation in which people feel a sense of belonging. McFerran argues that this is a state in which individuals can feel stable and secure and therefore it creates contentment with life. Social scientists until the middle of this century argued that non-medical use of drugs was a result of economics, employment (or unemployment),

equality and ethnic origin. Researchers after this began to see drug use in a wider social and cultural context, as a passive response to social alienation or as the provision of meaningful and satisfying social participation for individuals. Here drug use was part of the social life of individuals and of groups, it did not simply provide the escapism from deprivation that it was once seen as doing.

McFerran (1976) then takes these ideas further suggesting that drug use is a form of play in the adult world. Within this concept he cites four main themes, fantasy, festivity, friendship and fun, and participation in these allows the adult mind to return to a childlike form. In this childlike fantasy, the drug using adult can reach an inner self, an inner world which is unobtainable through the constraints of day to day life. Festivity, as a part of this play, usually involves feelings of celebration, using music and dance and in this case drugs to facilitate feelings of happiness[13]. In terms of friendship, the individual drug users relate positively with one another, they have feelings and attitudes in common. As Cox (1973) suggests that the emphasis on friendship relates to our increasing need for community in the modern world. Finally, drug use, especially to the users, is fun, ensuring that they enjoy themselves.

Here drug use does not become an expression of wider social, cultural, economic or political issues, but the specific ways in which individuals and groups of adults play. A means of stepping outside the constraints of normal life. Play, Cox (1973) argues is concerned with "making believe, as fantasising, exploring alternative metaphors, juxtaposing unlikely concepts, playing with new and improbable images of man and woman, God and world, earth and sky" (1973 :323). This Cox relates to the ways in which children pretend they are someone else, exploring and relating to one another different forms of consciousness. This relates well to the work of H.G Wells

[13] This relates well to the notion that many adults and young people use drugs alongside music as a combined form of recreation.

(in Young 1997) who suggested that drugs allowed an individual to find an alternative form of reality.

These ideas of McFerran and associated works bring us into the realm of thought which goes against previous work on drug use which suggested it has become an expression of wider social, cultural economic issues. This work also ties in well with the work of Maffesoli (1989, 1991) which I discussed in earlier chapters. Maffesoli's neo-tribe was seen as a search for community and belonging in the post-modern and placeless world, and this has many similarities to the festivity of McFerrans drug users. In both these ideas what is clear is the way in which drug use is not seen simply as a result or consequence of particular social issues, but as a lifestyle choice of individuals and groups. Particular places characterised by these social issues would therefore not necessarily be the places where extensive or particular forms of drug use are seen, but maybe related more to the cultural nature and need of the communities and their members.

What also becomes interesting is our definition of drugs and drug issues. Throughout this thesis I have regarded drug use as something negative, reactionary and in many respects deviant suggesting that it is only those who suffer in some way, who are tempted to use. What the work of McFerran and Maffesoli suggests is that drug use can be more of a lifestyle choice which makes it a positive action or behaviour. If we treat drug use in this way, in a non-judgmental manner then maybe the previous analyses of the relationship between drug use and place become questionable. I certainly have found my own perceptions of drug use altering throughout my work. I came into the research with an understanding that it was wrong, that it was a social issue which reflected deprivation in some social, economic and cultural form. I was prompted by an understanding that greater knowledge about why young people chose to participate in this illegal activity would allow better forms of education and eventually would result in fewer individuals wishing to participate in the drugs scene. My position has since changed. I

have come to regard drug use as a lifestyle choice, as something which provides a sense of belonging and unity, togetherness for people who in our increasingly disjointed and haphazard world. It facilitates those who seek something, or somewhere, which can bind them to others, or to a particular place and give them a sense of security within our contemporary world.

Throughout this thesis the aim has been to establish the effects that living in a rural area has upon the patterns of drug use carried out by rural young people. It aimed to regard the ways in which their reasons for use and patterns of use were determined, or altered by their place of residence, and whether or not this differed from urban patterns of use. The belief before this research was carried out was that rural living would ensure that drug use patterns were different, that they were created from the urban scene but that there was enough geographical separation to make them different in many ways from each other. I had also felt that the whole reasoning behind the choice to use drugs and the associated culture would also be different.

Space was thought to be a dominant factor in determining patterns of drug use among the young people. Where places were in relation to one another I felt would influence the ways in which drug use was experienced by those living there. What I have shown through the empirical work is the manner in which that difference is manifested , in terms of the types of drugs used, the places used for supply and consumption and the influences that rural areas feel from the urban scene. In addition I have illustrated that difference is felt not only through physical separation but also through the differences in the nature of the community, the ways in which they create and sustain rules of acceptability for the community as a whole and for certain smaller 'neo-tribes' within it (Maffesoli 1991). Difference does exist between rural and urban areas, but it is not necessarily a difference that is related to the geographical separation between areas. It is not that these areas are rural or urban that makes the difference, but that they are locally defined and distinct areas unique in a number of ways. Here I would suggest that it is not that rurality

made a difference to the lives of the young people, in particular with regard to their drug use, but that it was locality. Each of the characteristics that distinguished the patterns of drug use from other areas were unique to that area. They could not be the same because each area had unique physical, social, economic and cultural characteristics which played upon phenomenon such as drug use.

Living in a rural area therefore made a difference, but in the same way that living in another urban area may have too. The only differences that were characterised specifically by rurality were those relating to isolation, where the rural areas exhibited a greater level of self reliance in terms of entertainment because they had to, than the urban areas and also in terms of the characteristics of the rural community. In New Zealand I would argue that it was both locality and rurality which created and sustained a culture of drug use which made one area differ from any other. It was more centrally focused around rurality in New Zealand because of the physical separation of urban and rural areas and because of the economic and social make up of the rural communities themselves still retaining distinctions from the urban zones.

8.7 Conclusions.

This thesis has illustrated how drug use by young people is now an integral facet of life in rural Britain and New Zealand. Although I studied three specific areas in the empirical work, I gathered broader information through my initial literature searches and through some preliminary work. This reflected on wider rural patterns of use too and suggested that the evidence I was gathering mirrored patterns of use across much of rural Britain and New Zealand. This study has demonstrated the nature of that drug use and the ways in which rurality, or locality determines or alters patterns of use. It does not give a broad understanding of the extent of use across the whole of rural Britain, this would require much more extensive research and I would suggest would necessitate that the issues of confidentiality and the reliability

of information, are more seriously explored. The work from New Zealand has proved an interesting commentary for the British work and yet has opened many more lines for future inquiry. Indeed a whole thesis could have been easily devoted to New Zealand alone, as it could have to each of my research areas, and I recognise that may breadth of study may have reduced the depth of information I have gathered.

What this work has confirmed is the ways in which discourses of rurality systematically neglect many aspects of contemporary rural life, both in Britain and New Zealand. As I argued in Chapter One there still persists an understanding that rural areas are distinct entities and separate enough to avoid many of the negative aspects of the urban world. My research has clarified how discourses such as these fail to recognise many other sides of rurality. What my research has also validated is that in the future discourses of rurality need to address the presence of phenomenon such as drug use, recognising also the different social groups in the village. Race, gender, age and contrasting socio-economic groupings need to become integral facets of rural discourses. It is after all not simply a white middle class landscape. Discourses of drug use also need to broaden and regard use not so much as reactionary or deviant but as a lifestyle choice of individuals in the late 20th century. Further research could be focused on the ways in which this use of drugs reflects wider patterns of consumption in the modern world and with drug use being seen as a form of consumption linked in with leisure and recreation. What I would argue for with respect to the young people who choose to use substances, is increased education so that the choice to use or not can be an informed one[14]. Perhaps the use of drugs by young people in rural areas reflects not so much isolation or boredom but our need as individuals to belong and to feel a part of something which is both constructive and regulated with social and cultural rules. Perhaps the increasing popularity of drugs reflects more about our society than

[14] It was evident whilst I was doing the research that many of the young people were unaware of the social and cultural consequences of drug use, such as an inability to travel overseas to some countries if they are caught with drugs.

previously realised and reflects a changing desire for community and structure which is being lost in the postmodern world.

Prior to concluding this thesis I feel it is essential to return to the issues I raised in the Introduction which referred to my own position within the thesis and how this altered the way in which I carried out the work and the conclusions I make from it. In the Introduction I talked in detail about the modernist stance the work emerged from and my feelings concerning drug use as something 'wrong' or 'bad' that could not be regarded with the same relativistic view that other phenomenon can be. I recognised there that this altered the ways in which I carried out the research, my reactions to the young people and the conclusions I made. Throughout the work I have fluctuated between this standpoint and one which accepts drug use as a recreational activity, a personal choice which can not be subjected to the criticisms of more modernist points of view.

When talking to the young people I reacted differently to each and every one. This was a result of their own personal circumstances, the reasons for their drug use, the drugs they used and frequency of their use. After detailed consideration I realised that what differed between the young people was whether or not their drug use empowered them or not. When it was a source of empowerment, when they used but were in control, when it was adjacent to 'normal life' I did not see it as problematic. When it was used for escapism, as a of feeling contentment rather than as a supplement and when the young people were not empowered through their use I felt it was problematic or 'wrong' in some way.

My positionality therefore both helps and hinders the research process. Through recognising my own feelings and how they change throughout the research process I have not claimed to produce an unbiased piece of work but have written a positioned text which reflects only one perspective of the drug scene in the research areas. Negatively, my positionality may have

caused me to neglect certain aspects of the scene I was researching, to avoid speaking with certain individuals who may have contradicted my own ethics or who may have caused me personal dilemmas. The research is nothing more than a single perspective on a broad and contentious issue. I have throughout this thesis recognised how my own feelings may have altered the way in which I have carried out the work and have not claimed to produce unbiased work and produce a text which is positioned within this.

In (1996) Cloke's paper 'Country backwater to virtual village?' suggested through referring to the article by Wilson (1996) and the cartoon of that despite an increase in recent years in research into 'rural others' there remains a persistent theme that of 'major characters of power', in the case of rurality the middle classes, carry on as before disregarding their presence in the rural community (1996 :21). Cloke argues that these people see but do not really take in what that difference means. On the final page this cartoon is shown and it is interesting to note how Allison uses a drug user in the fore ground as one of his 'others' in the rural community. Here the image is of a user who is injecting, who is made out to look undesirable and poor and who is male. Through representation like this what is clarified is that even when there is a recognition that drug use, alcohol abuse, travellers and other 'rural others' (Philo 1992) are accepted as integral facets of the rural landscape, they are still seen in specific and exotic ways furthering their otherness or difference from other rural people and from others in their social groupings. The people that fall into these categories are never the ordinary folk of the village, but somehow individuals who contrast with the accepted forms of behaviour in a variety of ways. Rural research must continue to develop its work to incorporate work on other groups and to not highlight them in such a way that simply furthers their alienation. Research must develop to the point that it becomes accepted that there is not one rurality, not one rural community, but many of each, and each with their own experiences of rural life and in this case of rural drug use.

Figure 8.1 Richard Wilsons Cartoon.

Not so very pastoral

Many a rural scene masks suffering and poverty as grim as any city's

Here we go! The new year barely begun, and already the bile is rising nicely. Never mind Bishop slams Jackpot" and "Portillo slams Nicholson"; let us start 1996 by considering "Aga Saga Queen slams

After all, it was another novelist, their tenants and resisted innovation

also for the commuter's lonely wif with far more money but just a great a need for friends and bab playmates.

In such communities crime is ofte nipped in the bud by public pressure in just the way Sherlock Holmes sai

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APPENDIX ONE

Details of the Villages studied.

Village Y1.

Mixture of social classes.
Non- agricultural.
Employment based mainly in tertiary sector with high levels of unemployment.
Many commute to Leeds and surrounding towns.
Local secondary school in the village with youth based activities centred there. Catchment school for smaller villages.
Few recreational facilities.

Village Y2.

Mixture of social classes.
Many farms with higher social classes owning and lower social classes working there.
Local school is small and caters for the village and surrounding rural areas.
Isolated village and the only facilities there are the local youth club held in the school.

Village H1.

Mix of social classes. Many work locally in towns and in the village iteslf as it is quite large.
Local school and youth club, many pubs, sports facilities in the school open for public use.

Village H2.

Non- agricultural.
Employment in nearby towns.
High unemployment and lower social classes dominate.
Much local authority housing.
No school or recreational facilities.

Village H3.

Strong agricultural base.
Little employment beyond this.
No school or recreational facilities.
One pub.
Isolated.

Village NZ1.

Large.
Forestry and timber industry dominate.
School and recreational facilities good.
Mix of social classes and races.

APPENDIX TWO

A copy of a transcribed interview with two young people from Village Y1 carried out in November 1995.

Interview carried out in Village Y1 with one female aged 15 years and one male aged 17 years on November 12th 1995.

Key CAPITALS = Liz
Italics =Pete
Bold = Sophie.

WHERE DO YOU BOTH LIVE?
Sutton.
Crosshills.

HAVE YOU LIVED THERE ALL YOUR LIVES?
All my life.
I lived in Sutton and then I moved up to Crosshhills.

IS SUTTON A VILLAGE?
Yes.

HAVE YOUR PARENTS LIVED HERE ALL THEIR LIVES?
My dad's lived in Yorkshire all his life and my mum moved up from London, she lived down there for 30 years and she has lived up here for 20.

WHAT ABOUT FOR YOU?
My parents have lived in the country all their lives.

WHY DID YOUR MUM MOVE UP HERE FROM LONDON?
For my dad.

OK SO DO YOU THINK YOUR PARENTS LIKE LIVING IN THE COUNTRY?
Yeah definitely
Yeah.

DO YOU THINK THEY WOULD EVER MOVE TO A TOWN?
No never.

WHY SO ADAMANTLY NO?
Cos it's right nice here and dead quiet and that and you've got everything you need and cities aren't so far away, I mean Leeds is what 1/2 hour on the train.
Everything you need is here.

YOU DON'T THINK THEY WOULD EVER MOVE BACK TO LONDON?

No.

OK DO THEY GIVE YOU QUITE A LOT OF FREEDOM TO GO OUT AS YOU PLEASE?
My mum yeah, my dad no, they are separated.

WHAT ABOUT YOU?
Yeah.

DO YOU THINK THIS WOULD DIFFER IN ANY WAY IF YOU LIVED IN A TOWN OR A CITY?
No, I don't think so.

WHY NOT?
Because they trust me and I've never been in any serious trouble with the police and that, so what I do in my own time is my own time, they want to know what I am doing but they usually give me as much freedom as I want.

WHAT ABOUT FOR YOU?
I've forgotten the question.

DO YOU THINK THE AMOUNT OF FREEDOM YOUR PARENTS GIVE YOU WOULD DIFFER IF YOU LIVED IN A TOWN?
No, probably not, I don't think so.

WHAT ARE YOUR PARENTS ATTITUDES TOWARDS DRUGS?
I won't go into the story but I was caught once on...can I say what?
YES.
I was caught once on LSD, first time I had done it, and they didn't sort of go off at me and they asked me where I got it from and what it was like and that and trusted me not to do it again. But recently, with all that stuff in the news about ecstasy they've taken more of interest but they haven't actually asked me but if they found me on anything serious they'd kill me.
My dad would kill me he'd go mental, my mum with kind of like softer drugs like dope she's not that bothered about I mean as long as I don't get right messy on it or oout, but harder drugs she wouldn't like I'm sure.

SO DO YOU BOTH LIKE LIVING IN THE COUNTRYSIDE?
Yes.
Yeah.

SO GIVEN THE CHOICE OF LIVING HERE OR IN A TOWN OR CITY WHERE WOULD YOU LIVE?
Here.
Here.

SO YOU BOTH LIKE LIVING HERE?
Yes.

Yes.

AND YOU WOULDN'T CHOOSE TO LIVE ANYWHERE ELSE?
No.
No.

SO WHAT DO LIKE ABOUT IT IN PARTICULAR?
Eer well like we said earlier everything else you need is not so far away, without you having the pain of living in a city, all the trouble's of crime and stuff like that, not on a large scale or anything. I wouldn't really like that so I prefer living here out of the way of everything.

WHAT ABOUT YOU?
Can I just say the same?

YOU CAN SAY WHAT YOU WANT.
The same then.

OK. SOME PEOPLE WOULD ARGUE THAT IT IS AN IDEAL PLACE TO BRING UP CHILDREN BECAUSE THERE IS LESS CRIME, LESS VIOLENCE, LESS DRUGS ETC., AND OTHERS WOULD ARGUE THAT IT IS NOT AN IDEAL PLACE BECAUSE IT IS QUITE LIMITING IN TERMS OF THE OPPORTUNITIES IT OFFERS. HOW WOULD YOU BOTH REACT TO THESE STATEMENTS?
In the country you can get what you can get in the city, you just have to go to the city to get it don't you, you can do whatever you want, you can just go to Leeds and that.
I wouldn't say its limited...
No I wouldn't..
You can do most things here that you can anywhere else and you just go and get it, but then again I wouldn't say it's safer for crime and drugs and stuff like that, you get like I mean Romdale the town is not very big but is not a very nice place anymore not like Deepdale. If you didn't know people in Romdale and you were walking through you would be slightly on edge in case something happen. If you don't know anyone and you were walking through, I wouldn't say late at night anymore either, I mean kids out from school can be quite I wouldn't say rough but it would put you on edge, yeah it would scare you. But living here you tend to know people so you feel slightly safer, but if you didn't it could be quite bad, it would scare the living daylights out of me.

WHAT DO YOU THINK?
Yeah I reckon, I can't answer anymore because he answers everything!

WHAT WOULD YOU SAY THE GOOD THINGS ABOUT BEING BROUGHT UP HERE ARE?
You've got stuff like that most towns haven't got like you can go out on the streets at night and play without cars running you over and without getting stabbed and stuff. I used to live in Sutton and you have a wood

to play in and a beck to play in the summer, good to grow up in because you learn things you just wouldn't do in a town.

WHEN YOU ARE OLDER DO YOU THINK YOU WILL CARRY ON LIVING HERE?
Yes I hope so.

YOU DON'T HAVE ANY ASPIRATIONS TO MOVE TO A TOWN OR A CITY?
If *I were going to move I would move abroad, I wouldn't go to Leeds or anything. But if I had to move I would move abroad not to a town because I don't like it.*

WHAT ABOUT YOU?
I wouldn't move out of Yorkshire, I'll try and stay in a village or a small area but if I did have to move I'd stay where I knew like up in the north I'd never go to London ever?
WHY?
Because my mum lived there and you learn what it was like and she had a pretty naff childhood, its just the size of it, she didn't like it all the hustle and bustle of the city, she wasn't allowed into London shopping whereas when we were the same age we were allowed because once we were trusted it was only 10 miles on the train, but you couldn't really do that in London so I don't think I'd ever move away.

SO COULD YOU PUT INTO WORDS FOR ME THE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF LIVING IN THE COUNTRYSIDE?
Safer, advantages yeah safer, help.....
I suppose one good thing about living here is the community like in a village like here or Sutton there are fairly tight community, generally everybody knows everybody, that's one good thing, of people that you know and there re still villages so you get a fairly tight community.

IS THAT QUITE IMPORTANT?
Yeah. If you go down to the bridge in Sutton on a Friday night everybody is there everybody down to the age of about 12 and up to about 20 year olds, but everybody knows everybody and there's a real community so that' one definitely good thing, one advantage.
Yeah.
Eer....
Not as many risks
AS OPPOSED TO A CITY?
Yeah, safer?

WHAT ABOUT THE DISADVANTAGES?
Well lets say you do want to go out on a night and you have to be fairly honest it is reasonably limited here, it's a long way if you wanted to go out say to pubs or nightclubs, like we go Angels in Burnely but if we haven't got

a car then we can't go there. So the advantages of living in a town or a city is that if you do live there these things are accessible.

SO IF YOU WANT TO GO TO A NIGHTCLUB YOU HAVE TO GO TO A TOWN AND THAT'S A HASSLE?
Yeah.

SO IS THE FACT THAT THINGS ARE NOT THAT ACCESSIBLE A DISADVANTAGE HERE?
Yes a huge disadvantage, all that we've really got around here is nothing, that's what I mean if you didn't have friends to go out with you'd have absolutely nothing to do, homework, bowling swimming and that's it.

WHAT ABOUT THIS COMMUNITY DOES IT MAKE UP FOR THE LACK OF OTHER THINGS?
Partly,
I don't have anything I mean I've never lived in a town or a city so I don't have anything to compare it with.
Yeah I'd say it does, because if you don't have the community you don't have anything to do so at least if you have lots of friends to go out at friends houses or go out it takes you away from just going to school but without that community there would be nothing really.

ANYMORE DISADVANTAGES?
One disadvantage which seems a bit silly on the bad side of things, everybody knows everybody so if you get into trouble with anything at all then everybody knows, not even just young kids their parents and everything, its a really bad point, you don't have anything private.

RIGHT SO THAT'S A DISADVANTAGE EVEN THOUGH THE IDEA OF A COMMUNITY HAS ITS GOOD POINTS IT ALSO HAS BAD POINTS?
Yeah, oh yeah a big down side.

WHAT ABOUT ANYTHING ELSE?
Come on we must complain about something else?

DO YOU KNOW PEOPLE YOUR AGE WHO TAKE DRUGS?
Yes.
Yes.

DO YOU YOURSELVES TAKE DRUGS?
Yes.
Yes.

WHAT DRUGS DO YOU TAKE?
Is it take or taken?
BOTH
Eer cannabis ecstasy LSD and speed.

Cannabis, ecstasy LSD.

DO YOU DO THEM ALL REGULARLY?
No not all of them, I don't do speed.
I don't do LSD regularly but the rest of them yeah.

WHAT DRUGS DO YOU KNOW THAT PEOPLE OTHER THAN YOURSELVES TAKE?
I've heard of people who have taken heroin. Yeah in fact I know someone who takes it, and like crack I've never heard of people taking really.

BUT THE REST ARE QUITE COMMON YES?
Yes.
Yes.

WHAT PERCENTAGE OF YOUNG PEOPLE AROUND HERE WOULD YOU SAY USE DRUGS?
Cannabis I'd say about 90% of the people I know in fact yes cannabis about 90% LSD about.....
LSD loads of people would take it but you can't get it around here anymore, its pretty scarce.

SO IF YOU COULD GET IT WOULD PEOPLE TAKE IT?
Yes, about 60% or so.

WHAT ABOUT ECSTASY?
Its surprising, a lot of people have tried it I've tried it but a lot of people don't do it wel,l if they do very scarcely, but the people who take it regularly about 30%.
More people his age take it than my age. Like some people in my year not a lot of people use it that much.

SO WHAT ABOUT YOUR AGE GROUP ARE THERE CERTAIN DRUGS THAT THEY WILL MORE LIKELY TAKE?
Like if your young you'll take cannabis, you'll take that more than LSD or ecstasy. The higher age you get the harder drugs you take, or if you want to do them.
It's slightly difficult to say because young people do try it at a young age because they see the older people doing it like I was 13 when I was caught..
TAKING LSD?
I think I was 14 going on 15 around there, so we were still fairly young we weren't like late teenagers and that but cannabis you can start at a fairly young age.
It depends on who you are hanging about with, if like someone's 10 and they all knock about together they wouldn't try it as often they'd drink..

SO HOW OFTEN ARE THESE DRUGS USED?
Daily, for cannabis.

WHAT ABOUT FOR OTHER STUFF?
LSD rarely..We used to but we can't get it so we don't.
But if we could get it I'd say monthly. Speed and ecstasy are about the same if you are going to do speed then I think you will do ecstasy as well I don't know.
Speed is in ecstasy anyway so if you take one you will most likely take the other as well.
Personally weekly for ecstasy.

SO WOULD YOU JUST TAKE IT HANGING AROUND HERE?
You answer because you are different to me..
I don't take it as much as Brian does, I do it once a month because I don't go out as much as Brian because I don't have the money like Brian gets more money than me so I don't take it as often as him.

SO IF YOU TAKE ECSTASY WHERE WILL YOU TAKE IT?
We first started taking it around here like we'd all sit about and take it but now we all take it at a club at weekend.

WHAT ABOUT YOU?
Both really, mainly at a club but if there is nothing else to do around here not on the streets, we wouldn't do it on the streets if we were at a house I'd probably do it anyway, it doesn't really matter about that....I don't know how to say it without sounding really bad....not in such a large dose...like if you were here you wouldn't take so much...I make myself sound awful don't I .....would do probably do a larger dose at a club because you are out.

CAN YOU PUT INTO WORDS FOR ME WHY YOU THINK PEOPLE TAKE DRUGS?
You're bored, you want to know what it feel like, why other people do it.....uum you haven't got anything else to do have you, you just want to try it to see if you like it...
If you like it you will try it again..
Yeah.

WHAT ABOUT YOU?
Mainly I think it is a combination of boredom and everybody else doing it, if everybody else is going to go out clubbing then you don't want to be the only one who isn't , and the same if everyone is going to a club and doing ecstasy then you don't want to be the only one not doing that, so but it's also a case of Saturday night there's nothing else to do you are sick of beer.

IS THERE A LOT OF PEER PRESSURE TO TAKE DRUGS?
With us personally or on the whole?
FROM YOUR EXPERIENCES REALLY.
I should say people...well around here most people don't actually get pressured to do it it's sort of like people just do it, you see people doing it and you do it they don't force you to do it, you just tend to follow on, no I wouldn't say it's peer pressure.

NEITHER OF YOU HAVE EXPERIENCED IT?
No, no way.
No.

SO WHERE DO YOU GET DRUGS FROM AROUND HERE?
Anywhere. You can get it in any of the villages around here, anywhere.
Anywhere round here and you can get it from towns as well, depends what you want and when you want it.

DO YOU HAVE TO GO TO CERTAIN PLACES TO GET CERTAIN DRUGS?
Cannabis you can get almost anywhere now, LSD like we said is almost impossible to get so you have to go to the city to get it. Ecstasy and speed you can get from around here, it depends on how long you want to wait for it...
And if you know the right people....
Yeah, if you know the right people, you can say can I have this and you can have it by the day after, or they will get it by the next week or something.

DO YOU THINK THERE ARE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GIRLS AND BOYS IN TERMS OF THE TYPES OF DRUGS USED, FREQUENCY OF USE AND REASONS BEHIND USE?
Not being sexist I'd say lads will do more or different things to girls. I think most girls, I think females are like more, well put it this was I think lads go out with lads on the town and girls will go out with girls on the town and that but I think that lads will do more stupider things than lasses.

SO YOU THINK BLOKES DO DIFFERENT DRUGS?
No I'd say lads will go onto harder stuff than lasses quicker and if you are say going to go out to an event I'd say lads will tend to take more because they will think that if they take another one then it will really make them come up whereas lasses will think that they are happy as they are.

WHAT ABOUT IN TERMS OF HOW OFTEN THEY USE?
I'd say there were no differences, if you are doing it then there is no difference in what sex you are.

WHAT ABOUT YOU?
Yeah like Brian said I think lads would do more drugs than lasses, they would tend to do more drugs to keep up with the lads you've got to do more they kind of think they have to prove themselves I don't think lasses, well the lasses I knock about with aren't bothered about that. If you're all right then you're all right you don't want to take anymore do you just to be like everyone else. And I think lasses take as hard drugs as lads but lads would try it first and that's it.

DO YOU THINK THAT USING DRUGS IS DANGEROUS?
I do, it depends what you take who you are with and how you take it.

SO YOU THINK GENERALLY IT IS DANGEROUS BUT THAT YOU CAN DO IT IN S SAFE WAY?
Yeah.
Like if you take a trip....ooops!
NO TALK NORMALLY IT IS OK!
OK then. Well if you take a trip and you are with people you know and like and you feel safe you are more likely to have a nicer trip than if you are somewhere else where you don't know anyone and you don't know what is going on, and the people around you, you don't know well enough to tell if you are scared or if something is bothering you. It depends on what environment you are in.

WHAT ABOUT YOU?
Yeah, but like she said it also depend on the what you are doing, and if you are just going to go out and say drop an E and you don't really know what it is or what you are doing then yes it is but I think if you do know what you are doing and that then it's not so dangerous.

SO YOUR ARGUMENT IS THAT IF YOU DO IT SAFELY AND KNOW WHAT YOU ARE DOING THEN IT IS OK?
I wouldn't say it is OK but it;' not as risky.

WHAT ABOUT THAT RISK DO YOU EVER PANIC AND THINK WHAT AM I DOING HERE?
Oh yeah all the time, usually if you have come back from a club and , can I really talk normally?
YES.
Well you come back from a club and you are lying on your bed and you are fairly screwed you think why have I done this or what is the point in this then you start to think about it but before you take it outside a club you don't tend to think about it really.

DO YOU EVER THINK ABOUT THE RISKS?
Say if I'm at a club and I've taken some ecstasy and I've got water with me then I know I'm all right and I'm not totally screwed then I know I'm all right you know what I mean, if there are people around me that would handle it if it got too messy.

SO DO YOU THINK TAKING DRUGS IS FUN?
Yep definitely.

YOU LIKE THE FEELINGS IT GIVES YOU?
I mean it's not as if we are junkies or oout sometimes if we can't get anything and we are just sitting there then it is a right downer and you start to get depressed not because you are addicted but because you know what it feels like and you want to get back to that feeling. I wouldn't want to go into school completely screwed but on a weekend it is completely different, you always want to do it really, well I do.

WHAT ABOUT YOU?
Yeah [I take it because I like it]

SO HOW DOES IT MAKE YOU FEEL TAKING ECSTASY?
Um you drop it and you kind of sit about and kind of keep moving about and get yourself going and then you come up and you kind of feel kind of your gut kind of feels squeamish I can't describe it.....
Giddy....
Yeah you've kind of got butterflies in your stomach when you are coming up and then when you are up you look at a mirror and your eyes are proper dilated and all black and you are so happy you love everyone....you just love everyone....everything is so nice everyone is so friendly and you think everything is so beautiful, you think life's ace, I've got no worries I've got nothing to get me down, and then you feel like you want top dance and so you dance a lot and you sweat a lot..
The atmosphere is incredible if everybody is on it then they all walk about on it hugging and kissing all the time and you get people's phone numbers and probably never speak to them and I've even phoned one of them and they she still spoke to me even though she didn't know me and I will never see her again, you go dancing and everything, if you are on about ecstasy then you get totally different E's if you are at a house then you tend to sit about and talk and you are just confident and you just talk for hours, you talk about rubbish and then when you come down well that's a night gone but its always there and you can count back numerous nights when it was all really good, and you always want to get back to that...is that about right?
Yeah that's right

DO YOU KNOW ANYONE WHO USES ANY OTHER SUBSTANCES LIKE LIGHTER FUELS OR GAS?
I don't want to know anyone who does it I don't like people who do it because it's not right, it's proper lame and I don't like it.....if you are going to take something then you take something that's worth taking not something that's really sad.....its' really dangerous.
I've known people who have taken gas and just sniffed it in....I know someone but he's not really into it. I would say it's a lot more dangerous than drugs..
I've never taken it and I never want to...
I've tried it but I will never do it again....

WHAT ABOUT FARM SUBSTANCES HAS THERE BEEN REPORTS IN THE PAPERS ABOUT THIS?
I don't know about it but I can understand it I mean people who aren't satisfied with what they have will do it you will always get people who will try it, all these different sort of things. being screwed so they just try anything, oout that will make them happy or will make them screwed. Did you know about that vet products?
No didn't have a clue.

I have to admit I can believe it though.
THAT IS WHAT INTERESTS ME THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CITY AND RURAL DRUG CULTURES?
Round here no there's a lot more people in Romdale and I'd say there's a lot more people but if you put it down to scale then if you think about it then anything you get in Romdale you can get here and the other way round, I'd say all the stuff people have done in Romdale they have done over here, apart from cocaine, you hear of people in Romdale or in big towns who are coke heads, but I don't know anybody here.

YOU DON'T THINK THERE ARE ANY DIFFERENCES THEN?
No.
No.

DO YOU BOTH SMOKE?
Yeah
Yeah.

DO YOU BOTH DRINK?
Yeah.
Yeah, not as much as I used to but Yeah.

THAT IS SOMETHING ELSE I AM INTERESTED IN WHETHER PEOPLE ARE DRINKING LESS AND USING DRUGS MORE.
I'd say it is changing. You don't really hear of people saying what are you doing on Friday night I am going to The Red Lion. Its more like Manchester to a large nightclub. I mean we probably go to the pub we would on a Sunday afternoon there's nout else to do but I wouldn't drink.
But when you are about 13 then you get a bottle of cider on a Friday night and drink it and you just don't go to pubs they will get older people to get it on the sly and try and get it in home.
I hate it you drink loads and you are falling about drunk and I hate it and we used to go Glosburn Park and say I've drunk this and I've drunk that but if I've seen a kid do it nowadays I cannot stand to see an 11 year old staggering about the streets I know it is really hypocritical....my dad came in last night really arse holed and he was quite because he came in fairly aggressive at first because I cannot stand to see anyone over the limit its like.....
But that is really hypocritical..
I know but I hate to see a kid falling about shouting help me help barfing all the way because I know he used to do it and that but I can't see a point to it.....
BUT THERE IS A POINT TO TAKING DRUGS?
Because if saw an 11 year old doing a tablet I'd kill him like we were saying earlier we would know to take water and that but they wouldn't, at least we know at an older age what to expect and what to do.

DO YOU KNOW PEOPLE WHO GO TO RAVES?

Yeah, started going out properly about 3 months ago in Burrnley and I don't know about 9 or 10 times.....
HOW MANY DO YOU TAKE?
First started taking one and the problem is you come up early and you've come down by 10 and then I did 2 and then 3 and I didn't really like that because when I came out of the club and went home I was still high I were fucked. I didn't know what were happening.....I make myself sound awful...the more you go out the more you get into it I did 4 1/2 and a wrap of speed and again the same and we are going out on Saturday to a big event to Aark and do you want to know this? I've bought I don't want to say this 7, basically all the lads are doing it you'd be amazed at the amount other people do. You'd be amazed at the amounts other people do, I'm tame, well not tame but you know, and I have to admit it's partly to keep up . They have been talking about double dropping which is taking two at a time and because I'm stupid and the lads said it and its a big event and I want to have a good time so...

SO HOW MUCH WOULD YOU SPEND?
Ticket cost £16 pound and you want to take at least £10 for like water and general stuff like you go to services on the way back and that it's a big coach that goes and that, I'd take about £15 for that and I think the E is £7 and I'm getting a wrap of speed as well.

DO YOU THINK THAT YOUTH CULTURE IS URBAN BASED?
Not round here no, I'd say you mean like music and stuff like that?
EVERYTHING.
Well I only know about music and that, well I don't really know how to answer it O wouldn't say it were urban based though no, it's the same around here.
I don't have a clue...
I don't know how to put it into words really....

WHAT I AM TRYING TO GET AT IS WHETHER OR NOT YOU FEEL ISOLATED FROM MAINSTREAM YOUTH CULTURE?
Oh no, definitely not what they do we can do, you are not really isolated from it...
Yeah but people in towns might do it differently from us here maybe I don't know really I wouldn't know though because I live in a village.

DO YOU THINK DRUGS HAVE BECOME AN INTEGRAL PART OF YOUTH CULTURE?
Yep, I'd say so.
SO THEY ARE A MAIN FOCUS OF THAT CULTURE?
Oh yeah,

DO YOU THINK THAT IS WORRYING?
I'd say so yeah but then again I can' t really say anything because I do it myself but if I look on everyone else I would say it is quite worrying yes.

Yeah definitely....people like ages ago people would take a view on drugs as don't do it like drugs were really bad and now views are changing and more people are taking it and there is more info on it and that...

DO YOU THINK THAT IS GOOD THEN?

Its kind of good now more people are taking it .....I don't know really.....

At my school a Grammer School they all talk about oh where did you go they say After Dark and they were smashed out of their heads, and I go in and they say where did you go and I say Angels and they say what were you on and I say 3 tablets and they blank me completely.... I don't know they either blank me out or give me a lecture...but it's starting to come to my school even. like before people would say we don't do that sort of thing, now it's like we are going top Aark are you coming?, oh yeah. I suppose it is worrying if you think about it yeah.

ANYTHING ELSE YOU CAN SAY ABOUT DRUGS?

Yeah there is something I want to say actually you know like cannabis and that when people say it gives you brain damage and stuff I don't think it does I don't think it is as bad as people say it is, it's not like it can kill you or anything and people don't seem to realise that. If my dad knew I were smoking cannabis he'd think it were the end of the world and that, and what do you think you are playing at and it's not like that at all..

I think this thing on the news about that girl and that...I mean I don't mean nothing against her and that, all this thing now about Ecstasy is a killer, and yes it is, but I'd say in the long term it is more than in the short term, now that this has all come on and everybody knows about it, in the past 5 years there has only been 50 deaths you know what I mean, and that's because they don't know what they are doing, they completely blow it out of proportion, there's like a 5 million to 1 chance. Its more dangerous getting on a bus than to do ecstasy for the first time, so they completely blow it out of proportion. I think if my mum found out I hate to say it but she must have a very slight suspicion, she must want to know why I go to a club every week and why I don't get out of bed until 1pm because I can't because my pupils are so dilated.....she said she asked what I have done and I say drink and she says why do I not smell of drink and that.

APPENDIX THREE

THEMES DISCUSSED IN THE INTERVIEWS WITH THE YOUNG PEOPLE IN YORKSHIRE, HERTFORDSHIRE AND NEW ZEALAND.

1. Introductory themes. Personal and social details.

Age of interviewee.
Place of residence.
How long they have lived there.
Why do you think your parents moved here?
Would they ever move to a town? Why?
What do your parents do for a living?

2. Rural questions.

Do you like living here?
Would you prefer to live here or in a town? Why?
What is the community like here? Close knit?
Community attitudes. Race, homosexuality, newcomers, difference. Less accepting?
Idea that it is a good place to bring up children?
Continue to live here when older? Why?
Advantages and disadvantages of living in the countryside.

3. Drug use.

Know people in the village who use drugs? What age?
Personal use of drugs.
What drugs?
How often?
Where are obtained from?
How much do they cost?
Why are they tried?
Where and how are they taken?
Pressure to take drugs?
Differences between male and female use of drugs?
Perceptions of the dangers of drug use.
Use of alcohol and tobacco.
Use of alternative substances, farm products.

4. Youth cultures.

What activities are centered around leisure time.
Youth activities as urban or rural based?
Raves or nightclubs as central to this?
Differences between rural and urban drugs scenes?
Isolation from urban cultures?
Drugs as an integral part of that

APPENDIX FOUR.

THE YOUNG PEOPLE INTERVIEWED IN EACH OF THE THREE REGIONS. (Names give are those I chose to use for each individual not their real names)

Village Y1.

Jon aged 12 years.[XH1]
Sarah aged 14 years.[XH2]
Sophie aged 15 years [XH13]
Pete aged 17 years [XH13].
Richard aged 16 years [XH12].
Alex aged 14 years [XH12].
Erica aged 15 years [XH16].
Kevin aged 15 years [XH6]
Carol aged 14 years [XH3].
Adrian aged 15 years [XH5].
Caroline aged 14 years [XH11].
Robert aged 16 years [XH17].
Micheal aged 15 years [XH21].
Justin aged 15 years [XH22].
Diane aged 15 years [XH213].
Toby aged 15 years [XH 22].
Tom aged 15 years [XH10].

Village Y2.

Paul aged 14 years.[15GR].
Fiona aged 13 years [GR19].
Denise aged 15 years [GR14].
Jon aged 16 years [GR9].
Phillip aged 17 years [GR8].
Gareth aged 19 years [GR8].
Laura aged 14 years [GR7].
Bryony aged 14 years [GR2].
Simon aged 16 years [GR18].
Tom aged 16 years [GR18].
Helen aged 14 years [GR10].

Village H1.

Nick aged 16 years [HB18].
Sarah aged 15 years [HB1].
Louise aged 15 years [HB2].
Karen aged 15 years [HB1].
Sara aged 16 years [HB14].
David aged 15 years [HB15].
Andrew aged 15 [H9].
Jessica aged 15 years [H7].
Ben aged 16 years [H8].
Nicola aged 15 years [H11].
Emma aged 14 years [H13].

Village H2.
Jason aged 15 years [HSP1].
James aged 15 years [HSP1].
Neil aged 17 years [HS2].
Beth aged 16 years [HSP5].
Sally aged 14 years [HSP5].

Village H3.
Mark aged 15 years [HS17].
Clare aged 15 years [HS16]
Rachel aged 15 years [HS16].
Paul aged 14 years [HSP6].
Stacey aged 12 years [HSP4].

Village NZ1.
Tanya aged 19 years.
Clare aged17 years.
Sophie aged 17 years.
Rachel aged 15 years.
Bruce aged 15 years.
Tom aged 16 years.
Valerie aged 16 years.
Jo aged 17 years.
Paula aged 17 years.
Emily aged 17 years.
Sarah aged 16 years.
Adam aged 18 years.
Jim aged 22 years.
Hannah aged 18 years.
Nick aged 18 years.
Tony aged 18 years.
Lucy aged 17 years.
Louise aged 17 years.
Jacqui aged 17 years.
Sarah aged 17 years.
Jessica aged 17 years.
Mariella aged 16 years.
Vicki aged 17 years.
Anna aged 16 years.
Katrina aged 17 years.
Catherine aged 16 years.
Carol aged 17 years.
Cath aged 17 years.
David aged 18 years.

APPENDIX FIVE.

A copy of the questionnaire used for the research into drug rehabilitation centres.

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Dear Sir / Madam,

I am writing to you concerning the research I am currently carrying out for my PhD thesis which is looking at drug use in a rural context in Britain and New Zealand. The majority of my research has been concerned with the incidence of drug use (the extent, patterns of use, types of drugs used) by young people aged 12 -18 years. For this I have carried out extensive structured interviews with 50 young people in Yorkshire and Hertfordshire.

One additional aspect of my research concerns residential rehabilitation facilities, and other treatment centres for drug abusers in Britain. I am particularly interested in their locations with respect to the countryside and whether the rural plays any role in their location and their treatment strategies. I would therefore be grateful if you could send me details of your facilities, brochures, adverts, catalogues etc. In addition I would be most grateful if you would be able to spend a little time filling in and returning the enclose questionnaire which focuses on some of the main issues I wish to address within my research.

I realise that questionnaires are time consuming, and have therefore kept the questions to a minimum. I trust you will be able to find the time to fill it in and return it shortly. In addition if you are willing to talk in greater detail about these issues please do not hesitate to contact me at any point. I thank you in advance for your help and look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Yours faithfully.

QUESTIONNAIRE. Please be honest and fill in with as much detail as possible

1) Is the rehabilitation centre located in a town, in the suburbs or out in the countryside?

2) Why was this particular location chosen?

3) How important do you feel a rural location is for a centre's ability to rehabilitate its clients?

4) What aspects of rurality help in the rehabilitation of clients? And why?

a) Space

b) Peace.

c) Access to traditional parts of British cultures, heritage, crafts.

d) Isolation from many aspects of modernity (urbanism, traffic, crime, violence, homelessness). Please state which are important and for what reasons.

e) An idyllic environment in which to rehabilitate.

f) Isolation of those with particular social 'problems' from the rest of the population?

5) Is the rural used at all in the advertising of the centre?

APPENDIX SIX

A photograph of a Datura Plant taken around Village NZ1 in September 1996.